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Under The Padlock

E. A. FORSEY

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Fable — 1938 . . . William Robbins

New National Purposes

(L.S.R. Brief to the Rowell Commission—Part III.)

ANOTHER MONTH

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Our Contributors

We regret that in the last issue GORDON WEBBER was said to be a member of the faculty of the Toronto Arts School. Mr. Webber is a member of the teaching staff of the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Children's Art Centre.

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We publish in this issue the third and last part of the Brief presented to the Rowell Commission in January. The Brief as a whole will be reprinted in pamphlet form, and can be obtained from our office at 10c for one, or 25c for three, copies. Stamps may be sent in payment. Further reduction on quantity by arrangement.

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WHEN WRITING TO ADVERTISERS PLEASE MENTION THE CANADIAN FORUM

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Privy Council Appeals

IN common with all who have desired the abolition of Privy Council Appeals, we very much welcome the introduction of Mr. Cahan's bill to do away with such appeals "in relation to any matter within the competence of the parliament of Canada." The importance of this bill is obvious and we recommend Hansard of April 8th to our readers as well deserving study, and in particular Mr. Cahan's masterly and admirably lucid statement of his case. His review of Privy Council decisions and his contention that "the original intention of the British North America Act was frustrated and set at naught by carelessly considered decisions," as well as his demand for abolition, are completely in accord with the discussion in the first part of the L.S.R. Brief before the Rowell Commission, printed in our March issue. The bill was welcomed by the Minister of Justice who committed himself to the view that the Canadian parliament is competent "to abolish any right of appeal to His Majesty in Council . . . from any court in Canada" and added: "I would rather have us, if we did it at all, make it apply to all judgments from all the courts of Canada." We join Mr. Woodsworth in hoping that Mr. Lapointe's desire for caution will not mean unnecessary delay for, as it was well put by an honourable member (Mr. J. T. Thorson), "our national life is in danger unless we take national action to save ourselves."

National Status

THE appointment by South Africa of a representative to Ottawa marks the first occasion on which any dominion has established a permanent official in the capital of another. Hitherto there have been Dominion High Commissioners in London and British Commissioners in the Dominions. The new move symbolises the fact that the Commonwealth is not just a group of sturdy young states gathered round the skirts of the Mother country, but of co-equal nations bound by

varying degrees of mutual interest, political and economic. Such separate inter-Dominion arrangements are bound to develop in the future, and are to be welcomed as a recognition of the diversity of relationships that may be expected between the Commonwealth members. The day is not far distant, we hope, when the problem of Imperial Defence can be put on a treaty basis, those parts of the Commonwealth which desire it entering into an offensive-defensive alliance, while other parts will reserve their freedom of action. To make such a policy effective will require separate Dominion ministers at foreign capitals, for otherwise the withdrawal of the British Ambassador in time of war would leave the nationals of the non-belligerent Dominions unprotected. If the British Embassy were closed in Berlin how would Mr. King indicate to Germany that the Canadian parliament is "deciding" what to do? That is the capital to which Canada should send her next representative.

Nickel and Smelters

PITY the poor capitalist, especially if he happens to have put his few pennies into the base metal industry. The International Nickel Company's net profit for 1937 was \$50,229,625, compared with \$22,235,997 in 1929. All done by kindness! Only ten per cent. of the world's nickel goes into alloys used for war purposes. The rate of net profit to capital stock, capital surplus and earned surplus (this last amounting to \$59,896,143) is about 24 per cent. Even more heart-rending is the plight of Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, subsidiary of the C.P.R. Its net profit for 1937, \$14,669,663 as compared with \$8,848,030 in 1929, was only a miserable 34 per cent. on its combined capital stock, premium, reserves and surplus. Wages, according to the company's own report, amounted to \$11,600,000, taxes to \$3,980,000. No wonder the Financial Post waxes lyrical over Smelters' handling of its labour problem in Trail, Canada's prize company

town. No wonder, either, that the company's general manager has just been declaiming to the Montreal Canadian Club about the intolerable burden of taxation. We own the earth: get off! The same gentleman, incidentally, is a vociferous advocate of railway unification, explaining with sublime disinterestedness that with the money we could thus save, we could make proper provision for defence.

Trade Unions in Quebec

MR. DUPLESSIS has just introduced another piece of reactionary legislation, a fit companion to the Padlock Act. This is a bill to render trades unions liable in damages for acts of their members, whether they are incorporated or not. The first draft of the bill would actually have enabled judgment to be executed upon the personal property of the individual members. If this had passed Quebec might well have seen, for example, Dominion Textile Company selling the homes over the heads of its French Canadian employees (such of them as own homes) to pay for the damage occasioned by their strike. Fortunately this clause was removed in the House. Even so the "trusts" which Mr. Duplessis's followers have been so legitimately attacking will have a new weapon in their hands with which to fight organised labour in Quebec. The bill is of course aimed at the international unions, which have hitherto enjoyed in Quebec, since the judgment in the Society Brand Clothes case (1930), the same immunity from suits for damages as unions in England enjoy under the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. Following his usual practice, Mr. Duplessis suddenly produced the bill and rushed it through the Assembly without having given previous notice to anybody, least of all to the trades unions concerned. We wonder how long it will be before the French Canadian workers see the Union Nationale party for what it is—a group of politicians more concerned with defending the established privileges of the Church and the large corporations in Quebec than with tackling the problems of social reform and economic security. Perhaps further persecution is what Quebec labour needs: the Taff Vale judgment in 1901 contributed to the formation of the British Labour Party in 1906.

And In New Brunswick

NEW BRUNSWICK'S Industrial Relations bill must make Mr. Duplessis (and Mr. Hepburn) green with envy. It forbids strikes, under heavy penalties, except after a long and complicated

process of conciliation and arbitration which may occupy as much as fifty-five days. If a dispute occurs, the union must first send a written notice to all members, then hold a meeting to vote on the question of . . . striking? oh! dear, no! of applying for a Conciliation Commissioner. If they get a majority of all employees, union and non-union, and if the Minister thinks fit, he may appoint a Commissioner. If the Commissioner's report does not settle the dispute, the Minister appoints a board of arbitration. Not until the board's report is in, and the men have voted on it, can a strike take place. Meanwhile, not only will strikers be severely punished but also all who aid or encourage them in any manner. If this legislation had been in force last summer, every member of the Student Christian Movement, for collecting clothes for striking miners' families, could have been sent to jail for six months. There is also a fine of \$1,000 or six months in jail for certain expressions of opinion during an "illegal" strike. The bill does not provide for organization of persons employed in agriculture, thus neatly placing beyond the pale the Farmer-Labour Union, which last summer reached a total of 5,000 members, mostly seasonal workers in agriculture and the lumber and pulp industries. Only those who know New Brunswick lumber towns, where housing and working conditions are probably worse than anywhere else in Canada, can fully appreciate this example of the "Liberalism" of New Brunswick's "Liberal" government.

Catholics and Youth Congress

THE fiat has gone forth, from no less a personage than the Apostolic Delegate, that Roman Catholic Youth organizations are to leave the Canadian Youth Congress and set up a Canadian federation of Catholic youth organizations, whose "form and aims will be determined by the Canadian episcopate." The reason assigned for this move is "Communist" influence in the Youth Congress. In view of the almost indecent eagerness of the small Communist element in last year's Congress to grant every demand of the Catholic organizations, even to the extent of an official Congress pronouncement of belief in God and opposition to subversive movements, it is rather hard to take the Apostolic Delegate's words at their face value. Once again, we suspect, "Communist" is merely an ecclesiastical euphemism for "anti-clerical." Last year's Congress, a year's work in local Youth Councils, and perhaps also the National Student Conference at Winnipeg, were beginning to break down the intellectual isolation of French-Canadian youth. An alarm-

ing number of French-Canadians are beginning to emerge from the hermetically sealed seventeenth century world in which they have hitherto been effectively confined. This will never do. Hence the order to "Come ye out from among them."

Mexican Oil

THE Mexican oil situation is the kind of incident that shows up the true colours of capitalist governments. A group of foreign corporations, some of which have an ugly record of ruthlessness, were exploiting Mexican oil wells by means of cheap labour. Two years ago by court decree they were ordered to increase wages by a total of \$7 million. The decision was perfectly legal and proper, but the foreign companies refused to obey Mexican law. After protracted negotiations had failed, the Mexican government decided that the national interest required that the oil fields be taken over by the state. Such action is proper in every way—it is exactly what Canada did with the Grand Trunk Railway, only we paid nothing for the shares—unless foreign corporations are above the law. They are above it in so far as they are supported by the power of their own American and English governments. And they are. The Roosevelt government cut off purchase of silver from Mexico, hardly the gesture of a good neighbour, even though purchases of silver are apparently not "barred." Britain was even more brutal and demanded the immediate return of the properties. They threaten to boycott Mexican oil. Note that these governments are acting solely on behalf of private interests, and that in spite of the fact that the Mexican government has promised indemnification and quite irrespective of the behaviour of these same private interests in the past. One might think that Britain might take the opportunity of securing the friendship of the Mexican people and thus made sure of one oil-supply at least in case of war, for the Near East lies through the Mediterranean. Also a British boycott will most probably lead to sales to Japan, Italy and Germany. Clearly, the profits of British capitalists count for more in Downing Street than the safety of the state.

The Rowell Commission

ONLY a few years ago any suggestion of the desirability of restoring to the Dominion the powers which the Fathers of Confederation intended it to have was regarded as almost proof positive of "subversive" tendencies. Now province after province, and people of all sorts, conditions and opinions, are coming before the Row-

ell Commission to plead for greater Dominion powers. The latest recruits are the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, the Native Sons of British Columbia, the president of the University of Alberta and the director of social welfare for British Columbia. The Edmonton Chamber of Commerce specifically advocated return to the intentions of the Fathers, and Dominion control over labour legislation, all forms of insurance, pensions to the aged and the blind, public health, mothers' allowances, jails and reformatories, and motor truck traffic; exclusive Dominion power to collect income, corporation, sales (except fuel oil) and inheritance taxes; and vigorous use of the power of disallowance to protect the civil liberties of all Canadian citizens. On this last, apparently, the only difference of opinion in the Chamber was whether the purpose would not be better served by incorporation in the British North America Act of a bill of rights similar to that in the American constitution. The Native Sons also called for a return to the ideas of the Fathers, for whom the provinces were "glorified county councils." The president of the University of Alberta urged Dominion grants in aid of education. Dr. Cassidy, director of social welfare for British Columbia, advocated establishment of a Dominion department of welfare.

The British Columbia government, on the other hand, though willing to go some distance towards greater Dominion powers, objects to enlargement of Dominion jurisdiction over insurance and seems to have a grievance about the Dominion income tax. Alberta declines to have anything to do with the Commission. The Roman Catholic Church in British Columbia flings an apple of discord by demanding separate school privileges in that province.

Sour Sonnet for Simpletons

If England were what England seems,
A toothless tiger, trapped and tame,
Too dazed for fear, too dulled for shame,
A drooling dotard mumbling dreams;
If England were what Hitler deems,
A pawn in every tyrant's game,
A tank to smother freedom's flame
In a soft froth of secret schemes;
If England were what England shows,
Traitor to friends, lackey to foes;
And if we were what we pretend,
A free, proud people, clear of taint,
Sweet Liberty's undaunted friend,
How quick we'd chuck her—but we aint.

—JOHN SMALACOMBE.

Chamberlain's Bad Bargain

THE Anglo-Italian Pact, which is hailed by our reactionary Press as a new step in the pacification of Europe, has more deservedly been characterised by a British Labour M. P. as a "thieves' bargain." Mr. Chamberlain blithely gives away what does not belong to him and gets nothing but promises in return. Spain is thrown to the wolves without apology. It is now explicitly stated that Mussolini will withdraw his troops from Spain AFTER the end of the civil war. The possibility of earlier proportional withdrawals through the non-intervention committee is, it is true, considered. But in view of the repeated assertions from Lord Halifax that Italian reinforcements in Spain were "not proven" at the very moment when dispatches in all respectable papers the world over, including the London Times, proved it beyond the possibility of doubt, we know what to expect from that quarter. It is not too much to say that the British Cabinet are obviously hoping for a rapid defeat of the government forces in Spain, to save them from awkwardness. What the French Government, in spite of official protestations, must be thinking while the British Cabinet thus ensures that France shall have Fascist enemies on three frontiers, can easily be guessed. The second concession is the British promise to secure recognition in Geneva of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. This last betrayal of the League is not likely to enhance British prestige, already very low, anywhere, and above all not in America.

What does Britain get in return? Italian recognition of British interests in the Mediterranean and a reaffirmation of the status quo in the Near East, i.e. official Italian recognition of things nobody could possibly deny; trading facilities for British investors in Ethiopia (the thieves' bargain) and a promise to respect British interests in the source of the Blue Nile, at Lake Tsana. The only hopeful feature is a promise of negotiations on commercial relations between British colonies and Italian colonies in Africa. Anything which leads to breaking down the barriers to free commerce is to the good, but that remains in the future, and as problematic as ever.

The British Government seems to have had three purposes in view: first, to break the Berlin-Rome Axis; second, to make sure that British interests will not be ignored by Franco after his victory; last but not least, to bar the road to any possibility of socialist development which might result either from a government victory in Spain

or from the weakening of Mussolini. This last purpose they will probably, for the time being, achieve. But it is very unlikely that Mussolini will even try to honour his word to seek "no privileged economic position in Spain." After all, what has he been fighting for? As for the weakening of the Rome-Berlin axis, it is obvious that Mussolini is willing to repay Hitler for double-crossing him in Austria by the mirage of a possible anti-German front. But, if it ever comes to deeds, the very presence of German troops on the Brenner pass is likely to dampen his enthusiasm. Above all, as the treaty is not to come into operation until the Spanish question is "settled," it will give him a splendid bargaining weapon in his dealings with Hitler when the latter's announced visit to Rome takes place.

Recognition of the Abyssinian conquest and a free hand in Spain, in exchange for cheap promises to respect British interests which he would not in any case ignore without incurring the danger of war against England. For Italy, that seems a pretty good bargain. Even as an attempt to save the Chamberlain face, the success of this pact is very doubtful.

Roosevelt's Prestige Declines

AS an aftermath to the most sweeping electoral victory in the history of the United States, the spectacle so far offered by President Roosevelt's second term is about as depressing an anticlimax as could be imagined. To the morass of ineptitude in which the New Deal is now floundering all parties concerned have contributed generously. The president's tactics, first in the fight over the Supreme Court and lately over the Reorganization Bill, entangled him in struggles which wasted his strength on issues of distinctly secondary importance, while at the same time they were of a nature which allowed his opponents—including his ostensible followers—to swamp them in those sonorous irrelevancies which are so useful in defeating any proposal for constructive action. In one aspect the latest defeat is a significant gesture of Congressional emancipation. There is little doubt that the electorate in 1936 voted for Roosevelt rather than for the Democratic party. The existing majority was carried into office on the shoulders of the president. But having used him successfully, they are beginning to feel that they don't need him any more. He is no longer the same asset in the mid-term elections that he was in a presidential year. In fact, given the recurrence of the depression, there are many districts in which he may even be a liability. At the

same time they are less concerned about the presidential system of rewards and punishments. The threat of withholding patronage is no longer so effective as it was at the outset of the administration. As for the future, even if Roosevelt should try an assault on the third term tradition, it is by no means certain that a record of independence might not in such a case be an asset for many a congressman. The crew is about ready to take over the ship and put the captain in the doghouse.

But the most striking conclusion to be drawn from the past year in American politics—and, to admirers of the president, the most discouraging—is that the constructive ideas of the New Deal are pretty well exhausted. The president's pronouncements reiterate his desire to combine a returning prosperity with an increase in social justice, but they offer few concrete proposals for the achievement of such an end. There have of course been very real accomplishments; and there remain such proposals as those on wages and hours. But the achievements, striking though

they are in contrast to Hoover's hysterical apathy, are both precarious and inadequate; and in view of their failure to bring about economic stability, the measures which remain in prospect are hardly drastic enough to turn the scale. There is a worried air about the administration these days which suggests that it has shot its bolt—and indeed it would be hard to begin all over again with a more radical program in the present public temper. Given that situation, the government seems to have no recourse except to fall back on more pump priming with billions for relief. Even that is an advance over the Hoover days, but it is certainly no answer to the fundamental problems of the nation. Meanwhile the one striking achievement remains the record naval appropriations to build battleships too big to get through the Panama Canal and so present a new defence problem with infinitely expensive possibilities. That surely was hardly the thing that was uppermost in the minds of the twenty-eight million who voted for Roosevelt in 1936.

Forestry's Place In Flood Control

By CLARENCE COOPER, B. Sc. F.

IN a world that counts war, pestilence and famine as commonplaces, a seasonal flood calamity can scarcely be expected to hold rank as news through many successive editions.

Public interest flares rapidly in occasions of emergency and dies out just as quickly. Ordinarily there is a demand for an investigation and report. The report safely shelved, the matter is forgotten.

Flood emergencies have recurred annually for decades in the United States. Measures undertaken to guard against them were in the main feeble and ineffective. But the situation became increasingly serious. Emergencies became more frequent. Only within the last few years have the grave social consequences of negligence impressed themselves on the public and official minds. The havoc wrought by the recent inundations in the Mississippi region have made it clear that procrastination and drift were no longer tolerable or even possible.

In Canada's flood areas the conditions have not been dissimilar to those across the border. The difference is one of magnitude rather than of kind. This Spring's losses in life and property have brought about a sharp awakening to realities. Attention has been called not only to immediate losses but to the widespread impoverishment of farm lands that has gone on through

the years of neglect, and its incalculably serious social consequences. Here and there localities have taken a long-term view of their flood problems and a few have moved toward organized effort to provide safeguards against their annual troubles. But in the main little constructive thought has been devoted to the situation.

Face to face at last with the cumulative effects of the years of "wait and see," the suffering localities have been forced to come to grips with their problems. Hence we find in a good many of the affected districts a more earnest and sustained interest in the lessons that forestry has to teach with regard to the causes of the floods and soil erosion.

The causes are plain: the water has been drained off the lands too quickly and has moved into the streams. In Ontario the Grand River has the longest record of flood conditions. The Legislature in 1932 established the Grand River Conservation Commission. The enabling Act recited that the seasonal floods are caused by deforestation. The Trent River for several years caused minor floods and last year considerable damage was done in Belleville. The Thames River System and other larger streams in South-western Ontario have over-flowed recurrently with calamitous results.

The reason of the floods primarily has been

the lack of forests and the tile drainage systems established by many of the farmers in their fields, causing rapid flowing of water into the rivers.

Comparison of an open field and a forest area indicates how applied forestry can assist in averting such floods. Rainfall upon an open field is uniform. In the soil are air spaces. The water is impeded in its downward flow through the earth by the air, hence it tends to remain on the surface and the excess rapidly runs off.

On the other hand, during a rain in a forest area the forest floor becomes wet in patches; the areas under the trees do not become wet at the same time as those not covered. The water on a wet area sinks more easily because the air in the soil, on being pressed by the sinking water, easily escapes from the area through the dry patches of ground. The water sinks rapidly and to a greater depth. And there is no tile drainage in the forest. The drainage to the streams is slow and steady.

Another feature of the forest is the part each tree plays in holding back the rain-water. Anyone who is not familiar with the amount of water held by an evergreen tree may try shaking a rain-soaked bough. The rain gathers on the needles and branches and is held in the crown of the tree.

The forest floor is an important factor in holding back excess water. When the top layer of dark black soil, or humus, is dry it is light in weight, but holds considerable water. That is why virgin lands are so productive when used for growing agricultural crops. The layer of humus not only holds considerable water itself but it also serves as a mulch and prevents the soil beneath from drying out. The above factors combined indicate how important the forest is to the farmer in insuring that streams shall have a continuous supply of pure water, and in averting summer and fall droughts.

Conversely, deforestation and consequent flooding have a detrimental effect on farm land. When the water is drained off too rapidly the soil will dry out quickly, and suffer impoverishment, a condition which exists in many parts of Ontario. The thin top layer of humus in agricultural soils on being dried out no longer serves the purpose of a mulch, giving the earth substance for the growing crops.

The floods, of course, could be controlled in some areas by mechanical barriers. Or lakes could be made along the rivers and possibly canals could be built to give an alternate course for the flood waters. These various mechanical means have incidental legal liability if they fail to hold

the water and contiguous lands are damaged by flood.

Applied forestry would reforest at the headwaters of the rivers. Wooded areas would be established systematically, having regard to the topography and size of the area to be drained. The establishing of forests would bring back the proper economic relation of forests and agriculture. It would produce also a condition consistent with legal rights. Each land owner would be looking after the excess water. Flood hazards of the sort that are incident to mechanical barriers would not exist.

Who should initiate the schemes? Let us ask ourselves who has assumed liability in other places and why. In the United States the Federal Government established the Civilian Conservation Corps, which will become a permanent organization if pending legislation is approved. A reforestation program is designed as an aid in overcoming the Mississippi floods. The Mississippi River system drains a vast part of the Eastern States. Therefore, it seems logical that the control measures should be Federally undertaken. The Civilian Conservation Corps is one of the few of President Roosevelt's projects which stood up successfully in its entirety against political or legal attack.

In British Columbia the issue of establishing camps to carry on forestry projects was advocated so vigorously by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation that the old line parties were spurred into activity and the project was made effective by the Liberal Government. The British Columbia scheme has been widely praised not only as a forestry project but as a relief measure.

The Dominion Government should certainly take the initiative to remedy situations that arise in the case of inter-provincial rivers. A good example would be the Saskatchewan River. A scheme would seem to be practicable whereby the provinces affected would defray at least part of the expense.

Provincial administrations individually are free to discuss with the Federal authorities joint projects of many kinds which will be to the public advantage. And in Ontario, at least, the existing legislation is broad enough to permit a lively and effective exercise of municipal and county initiative.

There is abundant scope, too, for individuals who would be disposed to assist practically by establishing small wooded areas along the streams running through their lands—as well as for local organizations that are seized of the importance of promoting a better general understanding of forestry problems.

Under the Padlock

EUGENE FORSEY

MARCH 24 marked the end of the first year of Quebec's famous "Act Respecting Communist Propaganda." As we enter the second year, the offensive against democracy and civil liberties is being pushed with increasing vigour and on a broadening front. To April 15, the Civil Liberties Union had records of five padlockings and seventy-four raids and seizures, including two or three in Quebec City. According to the Montreal Star there have been other cases outside Montreal. Not one of the persons or organizations affected has yet been charged with any offense, let alone convicted.

Nor is this the whole story. Those who fondly imagine that the Black Terror is being applied only against "Communists" would do well to ponder certain recent incidents and speeches.

On February 5, a Japanese boycott parade of cars with banners, organized by the Quebec C.C.F. and the League for Peace and Democracy, was stopped by the city police "Red Squad" and the banners confiscated. The official explanation was the well-worn "fear of a riot." Several previous parades had been held without incident.

On February 23, in a debate in the Legislative Assembly, Hon. T. D. Bouchard, Liberal leader, complained that copies of his newspaper, "En Avant," had been seized in a raid in Montreal under the Padlock Act and that the provincial police had refused to return them. The Premier tossed the whole thing off with jocular remarks.

On March 2, Jose Pedroso, Spanish rebel, addressed an "anti-Communist" meeting in the Plateau School. It had been announced that Mayor Raynault and Archbishop Gauthier would preside, but after protests by the Civil Liberties Union and other bodies against this discrimination in favour of the rebels, the Mayor sent his regrets and the Archbishop was represented by Canon Harbour.

On March 23, some person or persons unknown broke into and ransacked the apartment of John MacCormac, Montreal correspondent of the New York Times, of whose comments on the Quebec situation Mr. Duplessis had complained bitterly in the legislature. Nothing was taken, but Mr. MacCormac's papers were thoroughly gone through. The city police displayed an ostentatious lack of interest, and the provincial police, protesting perhaps a trifle too much, hastened to deny that they had raided either Mr. MacCormac's apartment or any place in the same street!

Early in April, the provincial police invaded C.C.F. provincial headquarters, carefully inspected a display of posters, and retired with a warning that they were keeping "a close watch."

For the moment these delicate hints are evidently considered enough to keep the C.C.F., the provincial Liberal party, the New York Times and similar subversive influences within due bounds. For the trade unions, however, something more is needed: "something lingering, with boiling oil in it." The legislature has obliged with three measures. The first two outlaw the closed shop and give the government power to change at its own sweet will collective agreements made binding under the Workmen's Wages Act. These Acts, and an abortive proposal by a government supporter to overthrow the whole Workmen's Compensation system, evoked vigorous, and ominously united, protests from the international and Catholic unions. The government had promised the unions not to bring down any further legislation affecting labour without giving them notice. But necessity knows no promises. At all costs a wedge had to be driven between the international and the Catholic unions. The method followed was the usual "smash-and-grab." On April 8-9 without notice, the government rushed through both Houses a bill making unincorporated unions liable to suit. The Catholic unions, being incorporated, were already liable. "The quickness of the hand deceives the eye."

One further menace to "the institutions dear to the province" remains to be eradicated: Protestantism. To this holy task the "Authorities," civil and religious, have now dedicated themselves. Some months ago the chief of police of Quebec City refused, in writing, to allow the Grande Ligne Baptist Mission to distribute the New Testament by colportage. A new chief, lent to the city by the R.C.M.P., has since added insult to injury by announcing that this is "the general practice." Furthermore the Mission has been warned not to hold prayer meetings in private houses on pain of having them padlocked. An isolated case of petty tyranny? Then listen to Cardinal Villeneuve, Montreal, January 28: "The religious and moral indifference of the state . . . perverse liberalism . . . The false principle . . . of the neutrality of the state between different religions, and different metaphysical, moral and social theories . . . The Church . . . on a common footing with . . . all other religious denominations . . .

False conception of the liberty of individuals and the role of the state . . . Liberty of conscience: does it mean that each person may, at will, render or not render worship to God? . . . Odious liberalism! . . . Freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of worship, freedom of teaching: liberties true, decent and precious when they are used in free matters and within the limits of the moral good, beyond which they are abuses, weaknesses and destructive principles . . . It is never permitted to ask, to defend, to grant, freedom of thought, writing or teaching, and the undifferentiated freedom of religions, as so many rights which nature has given to man . . . These . . . liberties may for reasonable causes be TOLERATED. . . . Where custom has put these modern liberties, freedom of worship, of speech, of the press, of teaching, etc., into force, the citizens are to use them only for the good . . . In short, to prefer for the state a constitution tempered by the democratic element is not in itself against order, on condition, however, that the Catholic doctrine of . . . the proper exercise of public power is respected. . . . There are perhaps . . . strangers to our faith . . . listening to me . . . I tolerate you. . . . I tolerate you so that you will tolerate me. I tolerate you . . . so that you may admire at once the splendour of my religion and the delicacy of my charity . . . I tolerate you in order to have your collaboration in the common good, and when such collaboration stops, when you preach corrosive doctrines and spread everywhere poisoned seeds, then I can no longer tolerate you. Such, gentlemen, is Catholic liberalism."

Hear also what comfortable words Archbishop Gauthier saith, in a letter read in all churches on March 20 and 27: "Prohibition . . . in . . . Montreal of meetings of the Communist party, and throughout the province the seizure . . . of the evil literature which it spreads. God be praised! We have been very slow to protect ourselves, but at last the public authorities . . . have had the courage to take measures of a pressing necessity . . . Note the . . . disguises with which Communism covers itself: . . . the campaigns against Fascism, the saving of democratic institutions, freedom of speech and meeting . . . How many minds, in a milieu like ours are touched, even without their knowing it, by the remote eddies of the religious revolution which, in the seventeenth century, put at the basis of its relations with God the principle of free inquiry. . . . Human liberty . . . can legitimately do everything that is not forbidden to it . . . Let us allow to fall once for all into the discredit it deserves the theory that it is of the nature of liberty to be able to choose between good and evil." (The Archbishop is evidently im-

perfectly acquainted with the Book of Genesis.) "As Bossuet says, 'Liberty is given to man not to throw off the yoke, but to bear it with honour by bearing it willingly.' . . . we are limited on all sides by our ignorance, and our prejudices." (Speaking the truth unwittingly!)

Where the Cardinal and the Archbishop lead, who fears to follow?

In Montreal, on February 26, the Community Hall of the Church of All Nations (United Church of Canada) was visited by four detectives who seized publicity material relating to a concert. One of them said that they were going to close up "Katsunoff's International Brigade," by which he seems to have meant the "International Brotherhood," one of the religious activities of the Church, under the superintendency of the Rev. R. G. Katsunoff, D.D.

In Montreal also, on February 10, the Rev. R. B. Y. Scott, professor at the United Church Theological College, was informed that a meeting he was to have addressed that evening on "The Peril of Fascism in Quebec" had been cancelled, because the proprietors of the Jewish Educational Institute, where it was to have been held, were afraid of having their building padlocked. It had been visited not long before by a person describing himself as an "investigator," apparently from the provincial police. A week earlier a similar meeting, which was to have been addressed by Mr. J. K. Mergler, counsel for the Civil Liberties Union, had also been cancelled.

About the same time, Dr. Scott, on behalf of the executive of the Civil Liberties Union, applied for permission to use the hall of the Montreal High School for a members' meeting of the Union. Miss Mackenzie, principal of the Girls' High School, herself a member of the C.L.U. executive, readily gave her consent. But when she consulted the Assistant Superintendent of Schools, that functionary demurred, feeling that he must consult certain officers of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners. Two days later, he telephoned Dr. Scott, refusing permission, on the ground that the High School might be padlocked.

The Jewish Educational Institute and the Protestant Board of School Commissioners are not the only people who are afraid of being padlocked. Two months ago the McGill Social Problems Club arranged a series of meetings at which representatives of all parties were to present their views. Mr. Arcand, leader of the Fascists, had spoken, Mr. Buck was to be next. The Students' Council, however, refused the use of the McGill Union for fear of being padlocked. The Students' Society has voted unanimously for

the repeal or disallowance of the Padlock Act and has requested the university authorities to take steps to restore freedom of discussion on the campus.

On March 24, CKAC rejected the script of a proposed broadcast on "The Right to Liberty," by Mr. Hubert Desaulniers, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, because of its "English Protestant tone."

Meanwhile the avowedly Fascist "National Christian Social Party" continues to grow, unhindered, to say the least, by the state, praised with faint damns by the Church. You ask, says the Cardinal, "whether I am a Fascist, totalitarian or democrat? I shall answer in the very words of Mgr. Bilczewski . . . : 'I do not recognize the wild, lying, atheistic democracy which reigns to-day in almost all the states of the world. The masonic organizations, secret or avowed, the revolutionaries and the politicians in their pay, the scribblers, the Communist orators who have explained and still explain to the people that chance and a blind majority of votes shall decide the organization of power in the State, fill me with horror. The end pursued by this democracy does not really lead to the sovereignty of the people, but to the absolute power of backstairs financiers and their lackeys.' (Now where have we heard that before?) Likewise, the Archbishop. Photographs of Fascists drilling, in violation of section 99 of the Criminal Code, appeared in the Gazette and other papers on January 31 and February 1. "And if," says Archbishop Gauthier, "some hundreds of young people are doing physical exercise or quasi-military training, would it not be that in their view there are not being taken against the peril which threatens us the measures which should be taken? . . . This is going on at the moment when seven or eight hundred Canadians are returning from Spain, where they went to improve themselves in the good methods of the Red Army, so that they will be the shock troops of which our enemies will dispose. Is it not a matter of elementary prudence that we should be ready for any eventuality? . . . What is there to be surprised at in our young people wishing to be at hand, if, some day or other, we are stricken by the same misfortune? . . . I am not at the moment defending the National Social Christian Party. There are in the programme . . . very mixed doctrines at which a Catholic should look closely before subscribing. It is German Nazism, with its errors and its tendencies . . . How could we forget the manner in which Hitlerian Germany treats our brothers in the faith? . . . Be that as it may . . . it is much more important for us to know

whether the reasoning of our young people does not contain a part of truth, and whether our weakness, our evasions, our undecided attitudes do not in short act to the profit of the Communists . . . If it did not exist, our behaviour would bring Fascism into existence." (All quotations from the Cardinal and the Archbishop taken from *Le Devoir* of January 31 and March 21.)

In an atmosphere like this it is hardly surprising that the city of Sorel has elected a Fascist Mayor and two Fascist aldermen. The swastika occupies a prominent place in the city hall. On February 6, Mr. Arcand and the members of the Fascist Grand Council of Montreal journeyed to Sorel in uniform to celebrate the victory. About the same time Fascist delegations from St. Hyacinthe and St. Ours also arrived in Sorel to present the mayor with a swastika flag. Late in February, one non-Fascist alderman "resigned." A week later three more aldermen and the city clerk followed suit. On March 7, the "resignations" of nineteen city employees were "accepted." Mr. T. D. Bouchard and Mr. Bastien, M.L.A., declare that youths are being enrolled in the Fascist movement by "hundreds, weekly" in Montreal, and that on Christmas day the Fascists of St. Hyacinthe paraded openly, in uniform, to mass. Mr. Duplessis' reply is to accuse the Liberal leader of "insulting" the Church, and to blame all the talk of Fascism on an American newspaper campaign and a Communist "plot." "No one with a head on his shoulders will say that Fascism in Quebec is dangerous." The Premier says he "knows nothing" of the Fascist movement. Mr. Arcand, leader of the Fascist Party, is the editor of his official or semi-official organ in Montreal, *l'Illustration Nouvelle*. As well might Mr. Mackenzie King deny all knowledge of Mr. J. W. Daffoe.

Early in April the Fascists opened headquarters, perhaps not inappropriately, in St. James Street, where their offices occupy an entire floor.

French-Canadian defenders of the Padlock Act have been remarkably few. Mr. Duplessis and Mr. Mignault, ex-judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, have compared it to the law which provides for padlocking disorderly houses. They omit to add that disorderly houses can be padlocked only after conviction of their owners in open court for a defined offence. After all, why should an Attorney-General and an ex-judge bother about due process of law? Mr. Duplessis also has compared the Act to "the British law" providing for handcuffing prisoners.

But the main task of defending the Act has been assumed by representatives (?) of the

English-speaking minority. The "first families" are silent. What they think, we may presumably surmise from the statements of their hangers-on and journalistic mouth-pieces. Hon. T. J. Coonan, K.C., Minister without portfolio, says the Act could not define Communism because it had to be broad enough to cover "the many who are Communists without knowing it." He has also recently broadcast a long speech calling the Act a bulwark of democracy (but carefully refraining from discussing it). Hon. Gilbert Layton calls it "one of the best pieces of legislation ever passed in the province." Jonathan Robinson, M.L.A., stops short of mentioning the Act itself, but says that never has the English-speaking population been so happy and contented as under Mr. Duplessis. The Star speaks of the Premier's "quaint" "Latin" ways, and publishes Mr. Coonan's broadcast without mentioning that it was part of a debate. The Gazette prints three editorial defences and, under special heading, a very long letter of ingenious casuistry from the senior counsel of the Sun Life. The United Church and Presbyterian presbyteries, a few dauntless spirits like Dr. Lighthall and Mr. Calder, and a considerable number of English-speaking trade unions, brotherhoods, women's clubs, student and other organizations, have protested vigorously. But of most of those usually called the "leaders" of the English-speaking community, one can only say, in the words of Mr. G. D. H. Cole:

"We are called leaders, yes we are called leaders, although we can never tell why;
 "For the last thing we do is to lead anybody, and mostly we don't even try."

The record of the French-Canadians is, all things considered, infinitely more creditable. It takes more courage for a French-Canadian to speak one word against the government than for an English-Canadian to make a dozen speeches. Yet French-Canadians have taken the lead in opposition to the government's labour legislation. A French-Canadian is chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. Thousands of French-Canadians have petitioned for the repeal of the Padlock Act and many of their trade unions have supported the petition for disallowance. To whom little is given, from them little is required. But they have given much.



Another Month

- In Canada the smokescreen of Royal Commissions becomes dense (total cost to date \$1,123,967; total action to date, zero) while the fires in our armament factories are being banked for English and foreign orders; shell cases for England from the National Steel Car and aeroplanes for Turkey from Canada Car & Foundry who maintain a stooge in Berlin and whose president, Victor M. Drury, rides in Goering's cars when in Berlin.

- At Ottawa divorce and election bills are delayed, Dunning calls Social Credit's bluff by offering to obtain bank charter for them; C.N.R. employees are laid off.

- In Ontario Hepburn's double-cross of the electorate is consummated as power bill is approved despite the opposition of Roebuck and Macaulay. Test of public opinion is denied, while the contracts with the Quebec power companies are exempted from the Power Commission Act and the Privy Council Appeals Act. Net result, these companies may sue Hydro at will but private individuals have to get permission of the Attorney-General.

- In Quebec, centralised control of Provincial Police with 34 stations throughout province is effected. Pastoral letter is read in all Catholic Churches blaming communism for all the evils of the modern world and merely warning the faithful to carefully examine tenets of fascism before accepting it.

- In England, public opinion gives lie to the rude blatherings of Chamberlain as the Labour Party candidate is returned in by-election (Conservative majority last election 3,900.) Re-armament programme is speeded up, efforts are made by government to get co-operation of labor but no guarantees are offered in exchange. Lord Swinton escapes court martial for his conduct of the Air Ministry while private profit is put before public interest as 500 war planes are exported from England during the past year. U.S. Senator Nye charges England with supplying Franco with munitions as Chamberlain cabinet refuse to admit, despite conclusive proof from every correspondent (London Times to Daily Worker) that Franco has recently received colossal supplies of munitions from Mussolini.

- In Austria, large concentration camp is established for those Austrians who have not yet been forced to commit suicide. The guards to be those Nazis who were imprisoned by previous regime, thus making sure sadism has full play. Schuschnigg's aide is on his way to the States to show Cardinal Mundelein confidential dossier of Nazi activities in Austria, while the Pope reprimands Cardinal Innitzer for his crawl before Hitler which shocked not only Catholics but all the world. One brave bishop in Stuttgart refuses to vote in plebiscite and in consequence has mob roused against him by Nazi orator.

- Germany continues to receive 42 per cent. of her iron ore and best anti-aircraft guns from Sweden, 33 per cent. of iron ore from France, Rolls Royce engines from England, Pratt & Whitney aircraft engines from the U.S., nickel from Canada and all manner of supplies from Russia, as her iron and steel production leads the world for the first time.

- In France, Daladier is given the decree powers that were refused to Blum. Strikes in armament factories, which are condemned by both socialists and communists, prove difficult to handle while the French right adopt the attitude of preferring Franco and Hitler to their own countrymen of the left.

—RUFUS II.

Defence and the House of Commons

G. M. A. GRUBE

THE DEBATE on the defence estimates leaves one in doubt and perplexity as to the intentions of the government. We should no doubt be grateful that the estimates have been decreased by two million, being now \$34 million instead of last year's 36. In a world that is armament-mad, this comparative sanity is welcome. But the burden is still heavy, and its purpose uncomfortably vague. In presenting the estimates, Mr. Ian Mackenzie, reviewed the development of Canadian status, and deduced from this:

"First, that each self-governing portion of the empire is primarily responsible for its own local defence. Second, that the security of the empire is a matter of concern to all its governments. Third, that military action taken at any time, in peace or war, is a matter of individual decision on the part of each empire government."

The expression that needs further definition is "a matter of concern." The same ambiguity persists in the findings of the last imperial conference, for while it is admitted that each dominion bears "the sole responsibility to decide the nature and scope of its own defence," there was on the other hand general agreement

"that the security of each of their countries can be increased by co-operation in such matters as the free exchange of information concerning the state of their naval, military and air-forces, the continuance of the arrangements already initiated by some of them for concerting the scale of the defences of ports, and measures for co-operation in the defence of communications and other common interests."

There seems only one way to reconcile these statements: it is taken for granted that the dominions and the mother country will act together in case of war, but the extent of help given is in each case to be decided by the particular parliament.

In view of this the insistence of the Minister of Defence that there are no commitments to fight with Great Britain in any war, and that the sole purpose of these armaments is to defend our neutrality, sounds a little hollow. It all turns on the word "commitment"; we may take the word of the government that there is no definite engagement, but there are strong forces that would drag us in, and the present government is doing nothing to weaken these. Even more disturbing was the Minister's peroration, a Ciceronian period which space does not allow to quote in full, but it comes to this: that in view of the state of the world and our inheritance from

Britain and France, Canada must be prepared

"to take her stand, if need be, against brute force and might and ruthlessness and, if need be, for high purposes to endure sore travail."

Stripped of rhetoric, this seems to mean that we must be prepared to fight for democracy, and, as the next war will be fought for democracy as certainly as the last was fought to end war, the implications are obvious. Mr. Mackenzie's view seems not unfairly to summarize as follows: Canada is free to decide whether or not she will fight, Canada must be ready to defend her shores, Canada must be prepared to fight for democracy. Does it not follow that Canada must arm, and is arming, for that purpose also, i.e. to take part in a European war? But this last step the Minister refuses to take explicitly. On the contrary, he insists that every cent spent on armament is for defence of our shores only. It seems a trifle illogical. Especially as he gives priority to the air-force which, as is well established, is not primarily a defensive weapon.

The government scored a minor success in that M. Maxime Raymond, who voted against the estimates last year, supported them this, being apparently satisfied that they were for defence only. But the honourable member was quite clear that he wanted no part in foreign wars. Said he:

"The Statute of Westminster has made Canada a sovereign nation, with all the liberties that derive therefrom; the best of all liberties is not to go and get yourself killed for the protection of other people's interests. Germany is at this moment claiming the return of her old African colonies, which were divided among all members of the Commonwealth, except Canada. Can you imagine Canada fighting to preserve those colonies for them?"

Unfortunately, we can imagine it only too well. And part of the reason is the attitude represented in Parliament by Mr. T. L. Church, for whom Britain can do no wrong, who considers that "the league of nations' society is doing a great deal of harm in Canada" and who speaks of "that lamentable act, the Statute of Westminster" as "a great mistake on the part of the Dominions." With him goes Mr. Denton Massey as an exponent of the "Aye, Ready" attitude. He wants far more armaments, and seems to imply that the test of nationhood is the extent of its armed forces.

Yet the large majority even of those who supported the estimates want to keep this country out of foreign wars, and citizens who do not let

themselves be frightened out of their wits by improbable bogies must surely agree with Miss MacPhail and others who pointed out that unemployment and the social services are far more immediate and more urgent necessities upon which our money should be spent. Miss MacPhail added:

"if we were as anxious for peace as the eloquent speeches on defence would have us think, we would have stopped sending to those countries that we believe would turn them into munitions, the material for the making of munitions. That is true of Canada, and true in a larger way of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the other great powers. I cannot understand a nation attempting to protect itself against the onslaught of another nation, and at the same time supplying it with the instruments of destruction which will be used against it. It simply does not make sense."

The fullest and most closely reasoned attack against the Government came from the C.C.F. member for Vancouver North, Mr. Grant McNeil. He rightly maintained that defence estimates should be based on a clearly conceived foreign policy, and that the government had none, but merely wanted to "pacify the imperialists on the one hand and conciliate the isolationists on the other." He maintained that the government is obviously planning more than the defence of Canadian shores. He showed by quotation that army opinion at least is quite clear in assuming the despatch of an expeditionary force overseas in case of war. He pointed out that the priority given to the air arm is not compatible with concentration on coastal defence, and that maintenance of district military headquarters across Canada points the same way; that, commitments or no, the contractual obligation to maintain naval bases for British ships at Esquimalt and Halifax, and the training of our officers in England in the principles of "high imperial strategy" do not tend to ensure neutrality. Further, he made an important point in saying that "to dispatch an expeditionary force of five, six or seven hundred thousand men, three or four divisions, would certainly wreck our defences in Canada and at the same time invite reprisals from abroad." Mr. MacNeil also pointed out the danger of gearing our industries to produce war-material, "the greater the investment of that type, the greater the desire will be to protect that interest by resort to armed conflict beyond our national frontiers." This danger is much increased by news of British armament orders for Canada, and a dovetailing of British and Canadian orders for aeroplanes, etc. The appeal to loyalty to the old country, if backed by the profits of armament-manufacturers, will be irresistible.

Mr. M. J. Coldwell supported his colleague in putting the C.C.F. view, which has not yet been satisfactorily answered, and our guess is that it will not be. He also drew some important statements from the Prime Minister. Mr. Mackenzie King was reported in the British press as saying, in Paris last summer, that "any threat to England would bring Canada to her side." Such a definite statement on any subject was astounding from Mr. King. It now appears that what he did say was:

"The fact that we have our own representation in several countries is an evidence of that liberty and freedom which above all else we prize and were it imperilled from any source whatever would bring us together again in preservation of it."

This was a typically vague phrase that might mean anything. The mistake of the English press was to make it mean something. Mr. King has now denied that he meant what they said he did, and, having emptied his words of any concrete meaning, is apparently satisfied. He was only referring, it appears, to the significance of legations. Let us hope that British correspondents will now understand that when the Canadian Premier says that any threat to our common freedom would bring us together in the preservation of it he does NOT mean that any threat to our common freedom would bring us together in the preservation of it. One does not want any further misunderstandings.

But Mr. King's intervention in the debate here makes his complaint that he has not had a chance of making a statement of foreign policy sound somewhat disingenuous. The Prime Minister controls the time of the house to a large extent, and in any case other people seem to have found plenty of opportunity.

Mr. Coldwell also elicited from the Prime Minister the important statement that "no advice has been asked" by the British Government from the Canadian, "and none has been given" regarding the Chamberlain policy. The British Secretary for the Dominions recently made a statement in the House that no communications had been received from the Dominions expressing disagreement with British policy. This, regarding Canada, is then true, but it is interesting to note that the Prime Minister of New Zealand thought it necessary, on April 13th, to give Mr. Macdonald the lie direct, though of course in the most polite language, namely that he "did not altogether state the facts." As a matter of insurance against being involved against our will, it might be more politic to express ourselves, when we do disagree. It might also be fairer to Great Britain who might

not unnaturally suppose that silence means consent. To do so, however, the government would have to overcome their congenital dislike of "committing" themselves to anything in the realm of foreign policy.

The main accusation that the government lacks any foreign policy is obviously true. We are a member of the League, and one would have thought that we might have some opinion about Mr. Chamberlain's treatment of it. The trouble is that, whatever our government might do, they would lose a certain amount of support. They prefer to drift along until a crisis forces a decision upon them, and the crisis-psychology would no doubt force agreement from many of their supporters who would now express themselves in no uncertain terms. This no doubt saves the government trouble at the moment. One doubts, however, whether this inaction and indecision will make for the good of the country in the end.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to remember that the Militia Act, subsection one of section eight, still gives the Governor-General as His Majesty's representative, the power of calling upon all male inhabitants of military age to serve, and that section 64 reads:

"The Governor in Council may place the Militia, or any part thereof, on active service anywhere in Canada, AND ALSO BEYOND CANADA, for the defence thereof, at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of emergency."

Various amendments were proposed by Mr. Grant MacNeil and given first reading on March 31st last, to vest powers in the Canadian Privy Council rather than the Governor-General, and, for service beyond Canada, in Parliament. These amendments (Bill 84) were given first reading, but they will not now be reached.

Parliament, as Mr. King always tells us, will decide. Why not make sure that they, and no one else, can?

Fable—1938

WILLIAM ROBBINS

THE sound which had arrested me was repeated. There was something vaguely familiar about the shrill, ringing reverberation and I turned in the direction from which the sound had come. My path seemed to lie across a broad expanse of thick and luxuriant grasses. I gradually became aware of my surroundings—as far as the eye could see stretched fields of oats and alfalfa, of vetch and timothy, interspersed with clover-carpeted meadows. Yet there was no suggestion of deliberate cultivation. Little streams threaded a careless and rippling way through the land, and here and there groves of trees offered both a shady retreat from the sun and a pleasing break in the landscape. Towards the nearest of these groves I now made my way, admiring the peaceful beauty of this rather utilitarian rusticity. Arrived at the outer fringe of trees, I slipped past a few silvery birches, and parting the foliage in a clump of willows, peered cautiously through.

What I saw held me rooted there in amazed incredulity. In an open space within the grove itself, a large company of horses lay sprawled in attitudes of indolent ease. I say company rather than herd, because there was something in the attitudes of the horses themselves, something about the expectancy with which all eyes were turned towards one end of the grove, which reminded me of a directors' meeting or a solemn

calling-together of a university faculty in full senate. Even as I looked on in astonishment tinged with fear, a sober old Clydesdale advanced from the shelter of a huge maple, and fixing the assembly with his benign and prominent eyes, began—"Fellow-spirits, we are gathered together this afternoon in order to welcome several newcomers to the Heaven of Horses—"

It was grotesque. Only the fear of being immediately discovered by these strange creatures prevented my precipitate flight. I understood now the curious familiarity of that sound I had first heard—the neighing of a horse. The sameness of all things growing in the fields, the large number of streams meandering through the grains and grasses, the intelligent and orderly appearance of the horses themselves which impelled me to describe them as a company rather than a herd, and the gift of speech granted them—these phenomena appeared suddenly in a new and dazzling light. I had stumbled into the Horses' Heaven! Indeed, a more discerning glance around the assembly revealed to my enlightened fancy a spiritual something in the horses themselves, an elusive equinity, an ethereal essence of horse-flesh, which indicated that they moved in far different spheres from that occupied by Equipoise and dear old Dobbin. My musings in this vein were interrupted by the concluding remarks of the chairhorse, as I now took the old Clydes-

dale to be, and with a growing sense of wonder which quite overcame my fear, I listened to the discussion which followed, and which I reproduce as nearly as memory will allow. . . . "and so," the chairhorse was saying, "let us make their initiation into our midst a pleasant one. They have much to forget—let the memory of misery vanish in present and eternal beatitude!"

A chorus of enthusiastic neighs approved the chairhorse's welcoming speech, but before the young roan who was obviously the spokeshorse for the newcomers could reply, a big sorrel stallion leapt to his feet. "Comrades!" he began, in a voice that made the chestnut-trees quiver, "how can we ask them to forget their sufferings?"

An old grey mare near me turned to her neighbour with a sigh. "Poor Max!" she whinnied gently, "he's off on his hobbyman again."

And the big sorrel, whom the others from their expressions seemed to regard as the orator amongst them, was away in full stride despite several mild remonstrances from the patient chairhorse. "For countless centuries," he cried, his eyes flashing, "we horses have endured the yoke of our servitude. Driven mercilessly by our masters, we were exploited at every turn. Worked until we were exhausted, beaten when we stumbled from weariness, denied any share in the profits our labour produced for man the oppressor, our lot has always been one of shameful and silent suffering. Only our inability to organize has prevented access to privileges rightfully ours, and has encouraged the myth of man's superior intelligence. And the reward of struggle and sweat is to be thrown on the scrapheap, sent to the glue-factory in a pitiful and exhausted old age. And has man's intelligence been directed to improving the lot of his age-long faithful companion and servitor? No—it has turned to the creation of machinery, diabolical contrivances which have relegated us in increasingly large numbers to the status of economic ciphers, or to the regimented decorum of the riding academy! Our names, O crowning irony, have even been taken as the units of power in these same machines! And what has made possible this exploitation, this waste and suffering? Not the laws to which men have so glibly appealed, the laws of Nature, the law of God, the law of supply-and-demand. Comrades, it was the devilish ingenuity which kept us in blinkers! We followed a road mapped out for us, saw what our masters wished us to see, and altered our paths only at the tug of the bit which tore our mouths. They kept us from seeing the promised paths over the fields to freedom, they guided us—oh yes, they guided

us, over the hard and brutal surfaces they chose towards the blood-red horizon of a futile and unseen goal. They cajoled us with soft words, they called us affectionate names, they cared for us well, with the blinkers limiting our vision, and the hands ever on the reins, ever present, ever hard, guiding, maddening—blood and iron—"

He paused, incoherent with his own emotion, and the old chairhorse judiciously interposed . . . "Now then, Max" soothingly, "we all know how deeply you feel on these matters. It does you good to get it off your chest. And what you say is all so true, though we have heard it before, and it does demand redress and compensation. But we really must hear from our new friends. In the first place what brought you young fellows here?"

The young roan cleared his throat nervously, and glanced sideways at the big stallion, evidently expecting another outburst. But the latter, either from annoyance or exhaustion, had subsided into indistinct mutterings and grumblings.

"Well, really," he said, with a deferential lowering of his head in the direction of the orator, "anything I might say would be both lame and superfluous after the inspired speech by the gentlehorse who has just spoken. Our being cut off so young was due to the Spanish war, where we were sent by—"

"A war!" interrupted the chairhorse, in obvious consternation. The assembled horse-spirits gazed at each other in wonder. "I suppose the increase of machinery has prevented us hearing about it. You and your friends have been the first from that scene to ascend here by the intervening steppes. A good many of us, including myself, came here as a result of the so-called Great War, where so many horses were made misuse of. But," and here his astonishment became perplexity, "they called that the war to end war!"

The stallion had by this advanced to within a few feet of the young roan, who was clearly rather pleased by the impression he had created. He was trembling all over, and fixed his eye in a sort of fierce determination on the newcomer. "Yearling" he said gutturally, "there is another war on?"

"Why, yes!" replied the roan, "but they call it an insurrection—the rights against the lefts. And some countries come into it so that other countries can sit on a non-intervention committee, as they call it. But of course there was the Ethiopian conquest by Italy—"

"Not a war either, eh?" queried the stallion.

"No, that was to give the Italians practice in building an Empire, I believe. Still, I suppose the



most dangerous one is the occupation of China by Japan—"

"What!" exploded the stallion, "still another?"

"Oh yes," returned the other, "but it seems that it is for the purpose of protecting Chinese civilians against the ravages of their own soldiery and European exploitation. You see—"

"Yes, I see!" retorted the stallion, "and now answer a few questions, if you please. Does each nation plead self-defence even while it attacks?"

"Yes."

"And does each protest its ultimate object is peace, but only peace with honour?"

"Yes of course."

"And do they all talk of some mysterious menace against which they are protecting the people they attack?"

"That is correct."

"And are certain nations deploring the situation, and protesting against each outrage as it occurs, and following what they call practical, realistic policies of enlightened self-interest?" The eager intensity of the big sorrel had caught the attention of all the assembly, which listened raptly. "And do the people" the stallion fairly screamed, "read this and listen and believe it, or when they disbelieve, still follow blindly and apathetically?"

"So far as I have seen and heard," the newcomer rather nervously admitted, "they do!"

The stallion turned to the now breathlessly-attentive gathering of airy equinities. "Comrades!" he cried, his eyes afire, "the wrongs of centuries have been redressed. Man the intelligent, the rational creature, the mind in progress, has revealed himself in his fundamental futility. All his disparaging remarks on the animal kingdom come back on him. The irony is complete, and the tragedy is under way. The badge of our servitude has passed to him, and he goes blindly to his destruction. The mark of his tyranny over us during long centuries has become the brand of his tyranny over himself! And what is that? What, my comrades, was the most crushing, the most treacherous, the cruellest mark of our slavery?"

The gathering was by now in an uproar. "The bit!" cried some. "The reins!" and still others, "The lash!"

"Never!" the stallion almost foamed, "Not these, bad as they were—not these, but the blinkers! The blinkers! The scales with which he robbed us of a full and honest vision of the truth, to the sorrow and poverty of our lives, he has now fastened on his own eyes, to his blind and certain self-destruction!"

"The blinkers!" shrilled the band in unison. Even the chairhorse was visibly affected. "An inspiration!" he declared. "It demands an epigram, a motto, a timeless embodiment in living language!"

"I have it!" cried out the young roan, having in the excitement overcome his shyness, "I have it! By Pegasus, I have it! As one lately come from man's territory, I have in mind a proverb he quotes in his flippant self-satisfaction. We shall turn it back upon him, and it shall go thus. You may lead a man to slaughter, but you can't make him think!"

The applause broke loose in deafening waves of neighing, cheering acclamation. Long-drawn neighing, and neighing, and neighing. . . .

. . . . I sat up in a cold sweat, my mouth dry, shaking in every limb. It took seconds for the frightful nightmare to dissipate itself, and as it did, a voice still screamed its high-pitched and urgent Extreeeee!—Extreeeee! With a sickening foreboding, I went to the door and called weakly "Boy!" He dashed up to me, shoved the paper at me, and tore off again, yelling his infernal Extreeeee!

Finally I opened the paper and glanced hurriedly at the headlines—and collapsed on the chesterfield with a sigh. Aga Khan's new colt had won the Grand National.

New National Purposes

(L. S. R. BRIEF — Part III)

IT IS not sufficient, however, to go back to 1867 for such criteria, important though we believe the historical approach to be. A great increase in the functions of government has taken place, and new purposes of government have come to be accepted as legitimate. These new purposes must find constitutional expression just as did the old. This cannot be efficiently provided for without constitutional changes.

What are the new objectives which Canadians as a whole wish to achieve through governmental action? We believe there are two of outstanding importance.

1. The first is the provision of a basic minimum of social security for every citizen. This is recognized as a primary duty of the state in nearly every highly industrialized country today. No person should be compelled by economic necessity to work or to live below a standard fixed by public policy. Canada for a number of reasons has been slower to accept this responsibility than have Great Britain, New Zealand, or Australia, yet we believe that public opinion is alive to the need and is ahead of existing social legislation on the subject. We maintain further that such a function as this can only be adequately fulfilled by the federal government. It is not only that some provinces are financially incapable of providing effective social security. Unemployment insurance, minimum wages, maximum hours, and similar forms of protection are inextricably related to international and interprovincial trade, central bank policies, interest rates, tariff controls and other functions now in Dominion hands. They cannot be placed in separate provincial hands without the certainty of just the sort of confusion, overlapping and inefficiency that actually exists to a great degree in Canada now. It may be stated as a general proposition that, in a free trade area such as Canada is (1), the only government capable of establishing and maintaining a basic minimum security for every section of the country is the government which has the dominant economic controls within its power. This supreme economic authority in Canada, despite the Privy Council, is still the Dominion government. Whoever controls economic policy must control social legislation.

(1) The existing interferences with interprovincial free trade are not yet sufficiently important to destroy the value of this generalization.

We would therefore advocate the assumption by the Dominion government, through the necessary constitutional changes, of responsibility for providing a permanent system of social security in Canada. There is a national interest of vast importance here affecting the body politic of the Dominion. The generation of 1867, had they been faced with the choice, would not have hesitated to ascribe this duty to the "general government" (1); we of this generation should think in a like fashion. A Department of National Welfare (2) should be created at Ottawa, embracing all the duties of the existing departments of Labour, Pensions, and National Health, and administering the federal laws relating to unemployment insurance and relief, old age and other pensions, health insurance, wages and hours, and holidays with pay. Crop insurance for the farming population might well be included; it is a hazard, like that of unemployment, the cost of insuring which ought to be spread over the whole economy.

The creation of a National Welfare Code embracing these provisions would immediately achieve three objects which the Commission must have in view. The first is the alleviation of the financial burdens now bearing so heavily and so unevenly on the provinces and municipalities, which has been the subject of so many representations before this Commission. The second is the equalization of the burdens and the benefits of communal life in Canada and the distribution of the national income on more equitable and democratic terms. At present, for example, a drought may drastically reduce the living standards of the West at the same time as an artificially high price for gold or base metals raised the income of the central provinces to unexpected heights. Both the drought and the minerals are of national concern. The West did not (save in partial and remote fashion) bring on its drought, and the central provinces certainly did not plant the minerals in the ground. There is a national fair-

(1) As a matter of fact, a government which included five Fathers of Confederation introduced three Dominion Factory bills, in 1882-4, and Sir Alexander Campbell, Minister of Justice, was confident they were within Dominion jurisdiction. (Senate Debates 1882, pp. 367-370.)

(2) It is significant that the Quebec Resolutions talked about "Peace, Welfare and Good Government": the word "Order" was substituted for "Welfare" in the final draft of the B.N.A. Act.

ness in balancing these accidents one against the other, which could be done in a reasonable degree through the system of national social services. The third object which would be achieved by a National Welfare Code, and the most important in our view, would be the greater unification of Canada. If citizens learned to look to Ottawa for these vitally important protections, if they were taught to realize that the natural wealth of this country is for the benefit of all and not just of the section in which it is first exploited, they would feel a loyalty and patriotism toward the Dominion authorities which would overcome much of the present provincialism. The Federal government has been altogether too willing in the past to shirk its responsibilities of leadership and to refrain from making use even of the powers which it undoubtedly possesses. The slightest hint of provincial objection has often been enough to prevent any action at all.

2. The second of the new functions of the state today is less generally accepted, but in our opinion is of the greatest importance. It is the function of introducing the controls and long range plans necessary to maintain economic stability, to eliminate unfair competition and waste, and to see that natural resources are developed in the best and most efficient manner. A National Welfare Code of itself is not enough. The elimination of poverty and insecurity altogether by long-range economic planning is the basic task; prevention is here many times better (and far cheaper) than cure. Already in Canada the machinery for introducing needed controls is being built. The Bank of Canada, the Tariff Board, the Wheat Board, the Trade and Industry Commission, the Board of Railway Commissioners, and similar regulatory bodies are steps in this direction. But we are only at the beginning of this movement, which is destined to carry us further and further in the direction of state intervention in economic affairs no matter what government holds office at Ottawa. If such intervention is to be efficient, and is to achieve its purpose, it will have to be on a national scale. It will therefore have to be a function of the Dominion Parliament.

Some constitutional changes are necessary to make this possible. The B.N.A. Act expressly gives the Federal government the "exclusive" power to regulate trade and commerce, banking, currency, interest, and interprovincial communications, jurisdiction over customs and excise, and a paramount power over agriculture and immigration, thus indicating very clearly where the Fathers of Confederation intended the principal economic control to be. Judicial interpretation

in this sphere also, however, has amended the constitution by narrowing the Dominion powers and widening provincial powers. The regulation of trade and commerce within a province is now held to be part of the provincial power over property and civil rights. The provincial power of "direct taxation" has been extended so as to include sales taxes and taxes on consumption which have a very definite regulatory effect upon trade whatever their purpose may be. A Dominion Marketing Act, passed in the midst of a disastrous collapse of agricultural prices and supported by special co-operating legislation in every province, has been declared ultra vires; so too has a Dominion Act dealing with industrial disputes, though the greater part of organized labour in Canada is affiliated to national or international unions. A constitutional authority has said that "It is, I think, correct to say that in no single case has the Privy Council or Supreme Court upheld Dominion legislation on the sole ground that it was within its authority to legislate respecting trade and commerce" (1). Today the general Dominion power over internal trade practices seems to be restricted to a criminal jurisdiction. Theoretically a power to control inter-provincial trade exists, but is so vaguely defined as to be unserviceable. A forward-looking programme of economic stabilization would rest insecurely on this constitutional base. We therefore recommend that amendments be introduced which will restore to the Dominion its power to make general regulations for trade and commerce, as well as power to enact marketing legislation for internal as well as external trade.

While a consideration of measures to stabilize the economy may be outside the terms of references of this Commission, we would nevertheless urge that the present financial and constitutional difficulties in Canada are so intimately bound up with economic problems as to be inseparable from them. The "conflict" between east and west, of which so much is heard, is largely the clash of interest between a highly protected industrial region and an unprotected agricultural region. The per capita subsidies payments established by the B.N.A. Act and amendments treat all the capita as equally deserving of Dominion support, whether they be in the protected industries of the east or the unprotected wheat fields of the west. Actually the tariff is equivalent to an additional Dominion subsidy to the east. To equalize subsidy payments there must be an approximate equality of protection to start with: this can be

(1) Brooke Claxton, in "Social Reform and the Constitution," C.J.E.P.S. Aug. 1935, p. 420.

effected either by moving toward free trade for eastern manufactures or toward protection for western (and eastern) agricultural prices. We suggest that the latter road is the one which should be travelled, and that control of marketing, fixing a minimum internal price for Canadian farmers (just as the tariff and minimum wage laws stabilize the workers' income) would provide a firm and just basis for Dominion-provincial financial relations. New Zealand has shown a commendable initiative in this regard. The aim should be, not to transfer provincial marketing powers to the Dominion, but to place Dominion powers beyond doubt. Some marketing schemes, such as those providing for the distribution of milk and other commodities locally, are obviously appropriate for provincial control.

In regard to taxation, we feel that this subject also should be viewed primarily in the light of certain principles. First, taxation is properly an instrument of economic policy. Like the tariff, it is a means of distributing advantages as between industry and industry, region and region, class and class. Second, it effects a redistribution of wealth.

Complaints about the total burden of taxation in Canada must not be taken too seriously. We have already pointed out that this has been the most profitable year the security holders of Canada have ever enjoyed, and a comparison of tax schedules in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia will show that, as far as income and inheritance taxes are concerned, moderately well-to-do and wealthy Canadians are treated comparatively leniently (1). We feel there should be a great change in the incidence of taxation. Taxation should be progressive rather than regressive; it should be on wealth rather than on consumption. Canadian taxation at the moment is predominantly regressive. Not twenty per cent. of its total amount in the Dominion-provincial field can be described as being levied on those best able to pay; in England about 45 per cent. of the national revenue comes from income and inheritance taxes. Sir Edward Beatty has recently said, in relation to Canada's large tax bill:

"It is altogether a mistake to suppose that the income tax or the inheritance tax, both of which are largely paid by the wealthier classes, form a large percentage of this huge total. The bulk comes out of business and is paid by the ultimate consumer of practically every commodity we buy, and no one escapes; the farmer in the west and the office clerk in Nova Scotia each makes his contribution as also does the man who works at a trade" (2).

(1) For some comparisons of income tax in Canada, Britain, and New Zealand, c.f. *Social Planning for Canada*, pp. 338-344.

(2) *Montreal Gazette: Annual Survey for 1937*.

This state of affairs should be remedied; there should be considerable increase in income and inheritance taxes, particularly in the middle and upper brackets, and reduction in customs, excise and sales taxes. For purposes of efficiency a single federal collecting agency might well be set up for both these taxes, with a redistribution to the provinces on an agreed basis. Provinces should be treated with equal consideration in the redistribution, for the large incomes made by a resident in one province are usually made through operations which extend throughout the country. The earnings of the Flin Flon mines or the Nova Scotia steel mills, for example, may go to swell the taxable income or the estate of a resident of Quebec or Ontario, which provinces have no special moral right to this taxation. By collecting taxes on the principle of ability to pay, and by spending them in social services spread over the whole country according to need, something will be done to equalize economic benefits and burdens throughout Canada.

It is often argued that taxation reduces purchasing power. "As more and more taxes are imposed by governments, less and less is left for the people as a whole" (1). But the proceeds of taxes are paid out again in salaries, interest on government bonds, etc. It is of considerable importance that about 35 per cent. of Dominion, and over half of provincial, revenue from taxation go to pay interest charges. In other words, regressive taxation combined with large public debts, is lowering the standard of living of the masses of Canadians by transferring a considerable part of their incomes to the wealthy holders of government bonds.

In considering ways and means of implementing government revenues without increasing taxation we would urge the adoption by the Dominion, and the provinces, of the procedure of nationalizing profitable economic enterprises which lend themselves to government operation. Already in Canada the provinces depend on the proceeds of liquor distribution for a considerable portion of their revenues. Liquor production would be a continuous source of profit also as a state monopoly. Many provinces and municipalities operate hydro stations successfully; public ownership could be extended here. In Sweden, the state tobacco monopoly is highly profitable; revelations before the Price Spreads Committee a few years ago showed that there are large profits to be made out of tobacco in Canada. Under a Dominion monopoly these could be used

(1) Sir Charles Gordon, *Bank of Montreal Annual General Meeting*, 1937.

to finance government services. Formerly, in English constitutional history, the King was expected to "live of his own"; to-day we can re-introduce the idea if we promote state enterprise in profitable fields of economic activity.

For the purpose of reducing the present high cost of financing the public debt, and thus freeing future national income for more productive enterprises, there are three measures to which much more attention should be given than hitherto: (i) an organized plan of debt reduction, e.g., on the Australian model, (ii) a special profits tax for the purpose of reducing public debt, for which the time was never more appropriate than now, (iii) a Debt Redemption levy, after the manner of the suggestion put forward at the Liberal Summer School of 1933 (1). We would urge that this Commission give special attention to all of these. Australia has shown the beneficial effects of a general debt reduction on the operation of the economy. A special levy imposed by Dominion government on accumulated wealth over \$25,000, for example, graduated in proportion to the size of private fortunes, and applied exclusively to the reduction of the national debt, would be a notable contribution by this generation of Canadians to the freedom and happiness of the next.

While we have urged the necessity for increased Dominion powers to restore the original equilibrium of the constitution and to enable present national needs to be efficiently met, we by no means envisage the reduction of the provinces to a municipal status. Their exclusive powers over local matters will remain; it will only be their present power to deal with matters of national concern which will be taken from them. It is likely that even this reasonable proposal will be objected to by some last-ditch defenders of provincial rights. These well-meaning persons must not be allowed to confuse the issue. Dominion and provinces are only two ways of arranging eleven million people for purposes of government. There is nothing sacrosanct about either. Groups of officials in provinces have a tendency to aggrandize their own powers and jurisdictions, and it is perhaps a pity that there can be nine official proponents of provincial rights in Canada but never more than one of Dominion rights. It is not safe to assume either that "the province" means the government in power at a given moment in that province, or that "the province" is not just as truly spoken for by its representatives at Ottawa as by those in the provincial capital. This Com-

(1) See *The Liberal Way*, p. 43. The figure \$2,000,000 should read \$2,000,000,000. See for further details, *Social Planning for Canada*, pp. 333-5.

mission, we feel sure, will be more concerned with meeting the basic needs of the masses of the people in the provinces, all of whom are Canadians first, than with flattering the self-importance of local politicians.

One of the assumptions behind the provincial rights cry is that in some mysterious way it is more democratic to give power to provincial governments than to the central government. This may have been true in the early days when local communities were comparatively isolated and before the whole country had been economically bound together. Today when economic problems are nation-wide in scope, anything which deprives the national government of effective power to deal with them is really undemocratic. The identification between local autonomy and democracy is largely out of date.

Another common fallacy is the identification of provincial rights and minority rights. These two kinds of rights are quite distinct today, though when practically all French Canadians were in the Province of Quebec they were more closely assimilated in fact. A provincial right is a right or power belonging to a province, irrespective of its predominant race or creed. A minority right is the right of some minorities in Canada to certain educational and linguistic guarantees written into the B.N.A. Act. Taking away provincial rights does not necessarily endanger minority rights; indeed, now that the French Canadian population is more widely spread in Canada it may well be contended that their minority rights will be better protected if provincial powers are curtailed (1). Historically it has been true in Canada that minority rights have been more endangered by provincial action than by Dominion action.

We would furthermore point out that provincial rights by no means disappear whenever the Dominion assumes a function formerly provincial. The administration of a function can be decentralized even where the ultimate control of policy is centralized. It is further possible, and we would urge that this be given most serious consideration, to make some of the new Dominion powers concurrent rather than exclusive, so that provincial laws would be valid until they conflicted with a Dominion law on the same point. Laws relating to hours, wages, pensions and health might well be based on a concurrent power: the Dominion would establish a basic minimum, but the provinces could revise it upwards, or experiment in new fields, as much as they wished.

(1) Abbé Groulx once pointed this out: see *La Confédération Canadienne*, p. 188.

In conclusion, we would summarize our findings and recommendations in brief form, adding some further points not specifically dealt with in this memorandum but following logically from the approach which has been adopted.

The main purposes of Confederation in 1867 were (1) The creation of a single Federal State; (2) The preservation of democracy; (3) The protection of minorities; (4) The building of a strong central government; (5) The unification of law in the common-law provinces. Two other purposes now demand more definite constitutional recognition, namely (6) the provision of social services and a basic minimum standard of living; and (7) the control and direction of the economy through long-range economic planning. To maintain and carry out these purposes, the Dominion Parliament must be restored to its former position of authority over all matters of national importance affecting the welfare of Canadians in all the provinces. In addition, steps must be taken to overcome the present maldistribution of wealth and to check the growing evils of monopoly. Therefore we recommend that:

1. The treaty making and enforcing power should be placed exclusively in Dominion hands, including the power to enforce all kinds of international conventions. Canada should be a single nation in international affairs.

2. A National Welfare Code should be adopted by the Dominion, after the necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act, but leaving the provinces concurrent powers in appropriate cases. This should cover all the most important subjects of social legislation. The most pressing are unemployment relief, employment exchanges, unemployment insurance, crop insurance, health insurance, old age and other pensions, minimum wages and maximum hours, weekly day of rest, child labour, holidays with pay, industrial disputes, and the right of association.

3. The Dominion power to regulate trade and commerce should be enlarged again to include a power to make general regulations for the whole of Canada, including control of agricultural marketing.

4. Taxation should be used as an instrument of economic and social policy. Its distribution is far more important than its aggregate amount. It should aim to redistribute wealth and to share national burdens and benefits fairly. It should be placed far more heavily on accumulated wealth and far less on wage earners and farmers. To supplement government revenues, additional profitable forms of economic activity should be socialized. The Dominion should collect all in-

come and inheritance taxes and distribute a portion to the provinces on a basis of equality. On no account should taxation be reduced through the curtailment of social services.

5. The national debt should be progressively reduced, by methods such as an excess profits tax devoted to this purpose, a direct general reduction after the Australian model, or the imposing of a Debt Redemption Levy.

6. To clear up a doubtful point of constitutional law, the B.N.A. Act should be amended so as to make it clear that when the Dominion and all the provinces have co-operated to enact a particular legislative scheme, that legislation shall be valid.

Finally, we would like to repeat a remark of the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, made during the Debates on Confederation, which we believe is true of Canada today. He said (1):

"The principle (of federalism) itself seems to me to be capable of being so adapted as to promote internal peace and external security, and to call into action a genuine, enduring and heroic patriotism."

(1) Debates on Confederation, p. 144.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir:

In April Forum there appeared a letter by one Henry S. Beattie purporting to be an exposé of the Spanish situation in general and an invective against the Communist Party in particular. I, too, was a member of the International Brigade and am quite well qualified to comment not only on what Beattie writes but also on his personal qualifications to make such charges.

When I returned to Canada last September, the first thing brought to my notice when I stepped off the boat at Montreal was a somewhat similar diatribe in The Toronto Telegram given as an interview with this said Beattie. At that time, and I repeat it now, I challenged any publication to bring Beattie and myself together in a joint interview, letting him question me, and I question him.

Beattie and I traveled together to Spain as two of the first six Canadians from Toronto—not the first four as he states. He was voluntarily under my supervision from New York till we crossed the Spanish border.

At Figueras, the first stop in Spain, he was called before a meeting of his fellows to show why he should not be expelled from the group for his undisciplined conduct. Upon his admission of guilt he was accorded a second chance, chiefly because of his youth.

Beattie's six months in Spain was four and a half months—January 29 to the middle of June. He continually refers to the period of his being in the trenches, during which there was no news for considerable periods, of censorship of political discussion, of officers being C.P. functionaries given undeserved power. Beattie was in the trenches just twelve days—from 8 p.m., February 16th, to 3 p.m., February 27th. I have nothing to say against his record in the Front. He was wounded in the head and stood up under the tough going as did all the rest. He functioned as runner for Co. 2, Lincoln Battalion, a position for which I recommended him at the base in Villaneuva de la Jara. His company officer and

second in command were neither of them members of the C. P.

As for the unpopularity of the I.B. members, that is simply not true. I personally had street car conductors both in Madrid and Barcelona refuse to accept fares because I wore the I.B. uniform. I had peasants and city workers invite me into their homes because I was an I.B. I still receive letters from some of them. I talked to workers, peasants, store keepers—in the streets, in the fields, in business places—and found friends in them all.

His objection to the Spanish C.P.'s support of order and protection from individual expropriation is either very shallow or deliberately fostering misunderstanding. They did not promise "absolute support of private property," but did back to the limit the Popular Front decree that no small predatory groups should grab whatever they liked for their own use as the POUM was attempting in parts of Catalonia.

Again I quote: "In both places (trenches and hospital) we could only obtain our own party press, and our letters were strictly censored." As to the censoring, comment is hardly necessary. Spain is at war. The other is ridiculous. Personally I had bundles of Toronto papers, Stars, Telegrams, Star Weeklies, reach me in hospital, and others which were distributed in the battalion at the Front when my hospital address was not known. They came in the original wrappers, unopened, as testified by the fact that they contained chocolate bars forbidden by postal rules in such mail. I have seen the N. Y. Times lying on tables in the International Club at Albacete. I picked up Chicago and New York papers in the Guardia Nacional in Albacete, a place Beattie is quite familiar with. I personally passed around bundles of papers at Castellote, Villa Paz and Tarancon hospitals, all I.B. bases, which included Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Timmins papers. English papers such as Reynolds News, Herald and others were very common. In general the supply was limited to those sent to individuals by friends. No one in his right senses expected his home-town newspaper supplied by Brigade. If he wanted it, he had it sent and then passed it on.

The spokesman at Murcia whom Beattie refers to as "removed from the ward by party officials and disappeared forever from our knowledge" was an English doctor, Bradsworth by name, who would ill appreciate Beattie's dragging him into his invective, as he has done on several occasions. At the moment I have in my possession a letter written February 2 recording Bradsworth, quite happily still on the job, with the American Auto-Chir Medical unit a short distance from Teruel. Despite Beattie's constant reference to "party officials" and "party functionaries," there are NO party officials of any political group functioning as such within the I.B. Some officers, administrators, etc., are C.P. members. Others are not.

His paragraph regarding the May uprising of uncontrollable Anarchists and POUM-ites is easily recognizable as a Trotskyist attempt to hide now what was previously admitted: Oehler's boast upon his return to America that the POUM led the attack on the Popular Front. Franco's radio station at Seville broadcast greetings and encouragement to the saboteurs. These are known facts, incapable of being dismissed as controversial.

Beattie's statement that the Garibaldi battalion had been ordered to Barcelona to suppress the uprising is a figment of his mind. His own words reveal it as such. He says a member of the battalion told him they were kept in the line for three months because they refused to go to Barcelona

in May. Three months after May—that is in late July—Beattie was already home in Canada.

Beattie rather gives his whole show away when he says: "The whole course of events was not clear to me until I had actually left Spain." All through his letter he says he noted this and that, saw revealed all those terrible things; to quote him, "Gradually I learned," "I left Spain convinced," "confirmed suspicions I had in the trenches." But in that checking up on what he himself says, lies the real story of the purpose behind his letter. The "course of events was not clear" until weeks after he was back home, when he found he wasn't going to be a perpetual national hero and found solace at the price of turning on his former comrades, many of them now lying beneath Spanish soil.

Salud,

Mountain Sanatorium,
Hamilton, Ontario.

LARRY K. RYAN.

O CANADA!

(A prize of \$1.00 will be paid for the clipping printed at the head of this monthly selection.)

In arguing their case, the real estate owners pointed out that to own property was an additional burden—something that the average man doesn't have at all.

(Account of a delegation of landlords in The Saint John Citizen)

* * *

War is a cure for nothing. It is an aggravation of every evil. We should only employ it as a last resort.

(Editorial in The Montreal Star)

* * *

No man could be a leader today who wasn't a socialist, Mayor Morrison told the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in convention here. Mr. Morrison sat in the Ontario Legislature as a Conservative. "I was at a meeting with Sir Edward Beatty once," said the Mayor. "He turned to me and said: 'You're a Socialist, aren't you?' I said, 'Yes, a sane Socialist.' He said to me: 'So am I.'"

(Dispatch from Ottawa in The Toronto Globe and Mail)

* * *

What a little success does to an army is indicated in the eye-witness despatch of A. T. Steele to The Daily Province. He has been several times with the armies in China. Each time he has seen a change for better or worse.

(Note at the head of Shanghai despatches in The Daily Province, Vancouver)

* * *

The residence of Rocco Perri was bombed last night shortly before ten o'clock . . . Debris was scattered for a hundred feet and plaster was blown from walls inside the house . . . "I was at a drug store on York Street," Perri declared. "I had a headache and was taking a bromo. When I got home I saw this mess. Now I don't feel any better."

(Hamilton despatch in Toronto Daily Star)

* * *

Elimination of the regulation which "strictly forbids" pulling or boxing the ears, slapping with the hand, striking with a hook or pointer, shaking a pupil or hitting him suddenly and without warning, is being sought by the Public School Men Teachers' Federation. The request will go before the board of education.

(Despatch from London, Ont., in Toronto Daily Star)

* * *

The prize this month goes to Miss Jean A. McKay, Saint John, New Brunswick.)

Facts, Figures & Finance

Business Conditions

Physical volume of business in February at 85 was markedly below last year (91.6). Mineral production generally, and nickel and copper in particular, were up, but most of the other important indices were down: manufacturing 86.1 (98.9), newsprint 102.5 (139.5), iron and steel 65.3 (74.6), steel 83.5 (95), automobiles 65 (75.8), petroleum imports 78.4 (102), construction 22.4 (27.7), power 145.8 (152.2). Employment, however, was on the whole (March 1) above last year, perhaps reflecting increased short time: all industries 90.6 (86.4), manufacturing 94.4 (91.9), pulp and paper 85.6 (88.3), power 90.9 (88), iron and steel 84.1 (81), crude, rolled and forged 94.3 (95.5), automobiles and parts 104.5 (104.9), mining 128.4 (121.4). Financial Post headlines are ominously like those of the same period of 1930. Declines in activity in Canada, however, have been much less severe than in the United States, where industrial production in January was 30 per cent. below last year, and, as the Canadian Bank of Commerce puts it, "the impact upon Canadian industry of the downward trend in world economy, has been less severe than was expected." But, to quote the same authority again, "business activity as a whole is now about 15 per cent. below that of the early spring of 1937."

Dividends, Bond Interest and Profits

Gross dividend payments for the first third of 1938 are \$74,300,000, an increase of \$4,000,000 over last year's all time peak. Gross bond interest payments are \$137,190,840 as against \$136,675,470. Of 1937 dividends, the D.B.S. reports that \$154,000,000 went to external investors, who also received \$156,000,000 of interest. The Nesbitt, Thomson dividend index for March was 104.1, for the quarter 104. Imperial Oil and Aluminum, Limited, in 1937 both earned about 17 per cent. on shareholders' investment, and Steel Company of Canada made larger profits than at the height of its war activity.

Unemployment and Relief

Figures published by the I.L.O. for the first quarter of 1938 show increases in unemployment over last year in the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Ireland and Norway. Gains in other countries, however, outweighed these losses. German unemployed are

reported to have decreased by over 800,000 to 281,000. In Canada, total relief recipients in January numbered 1,014,000 (1,171,757 last year), of whom 161,000 were employable (a decrease of about 37 per cent. from 1937), 443,000 non-worker dependents (27.3 per cent. decrease), farmers and dependents 410,000 (33 per cent. increase). Unemployment among wage earners, according to latest estimates is about 403,000, a decrease from last year of 117,000. According to a recent D.B.S. study, unemployment among wage earners in 1928 was only 60,000, or 2.5 per cent. of the number employable; in 1933 it had risen to 646,000 or 26.5 per cent.; for the first eleven months of 1937 it was 346,000, or 12.3 per cent. Total wage earners, employed and unemployed, numbered 2,551,000 in 1929 and 2,806,000 in 1937.

Agriculture

Favourable moisture conditions (so far) on the prairies are giving rise to encouraging predictions of a better year for farmers. They need it. Farm land values in 1937 averaged \$24 an acre, as against \$38 in 1928 and a low of \$23 in 1934. British Columbia averaged \$58, Ontario \$46, Quebec \$40, Saskatchewan \$15. Values decreased from 1936 in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia. During 1937, farm purchasing power declined nearly three per cent., according to the Canadian Bank of Commerce. D.B.S. figures of cash income of prairie farmers since 1926 show, among other things: (1) that the total decreased from \$603,800,000 in 1928 to \$163,200,000 in 1932, and had recovered to only \$271,300,000 for the twelve months ending November 1937; (2) that for Saskatchewan the total dropped from \$316,200,000 in 1928 to \$68,500,000 in 1931, recovered to \$116,400,000 in 1936, and fell to \$85,000,000 in 1937; (3) that the Saskatchewan figure, which in 1928 was almost four times the Manitoba figure and over 50 per cent. above Alberta, was in 1937 only 15 per cent. above Manitoba and actually 24.4 per cent. below Alberta.

Old Age Pensions

At December 31, 1937, old age pension recipients numbered 174,882. In other words, 44 per cent. of the aged population of Canada were practically destitute. The highest percentage was in New Brunswick, 61.23, the lowest in Prince Edward Island, 31.22. The prairie provinces and Nova Scotia all showed over 50 per cent., Quebec 48.16, British Columbia 42.81, Ontario 35.5.

—E. A. F.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Commerce and Politics in Old Canada

THE COMMERCIAL EMPIRE OF THE ST. LAWRENCE, 1760-1850. By D. G. Creighton; Ryerson Press; pp. x, 441; \$5.00.

THE HORIZON of Canadian history has expanded rapidly in recent years, and the picture of national development presented by our historians is steadily becoming more various, more vivid and more realistic. There was room for expansion. It is not so very long since the Dominion's story was exhibited to the country's youth almost exclusively in the austere terms of constitutionalism. Canadian progress, they were told, found expression in the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, Lord Durham's Report, the Union Act and the British North America Act; and it is not entirely surprising that the chronicle left them cold. Whether the plight of the Canadian schoolboy has been improved in this respect, this reviewer does not know; but he feels convinced that the effect of such vital studies as this one of Professor Creighton's will ultimately be felt even in the public schools, and he knows that that effect must be salutary. This book is a most important contribution to the literature of Canadian history, and is the most distinguished volume so far published in the great survey of Canadian-American relations fathered by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is both a piece of sound and original scholarship and a good book; and this combination is not so usual that it should be allowed to pass without comment.

Though the civilization of North America is primarily a business civilization, Canadian historians in the past have made little effort to elucidate the relationship of business and politics. "The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" is a long step towards supplying the deficiency. It is described as "an attempt to trace the relations between the commercial system of the St. Lawrence and the political development of Canada during almost a century of its history"; and it is, in the nature of things, largely an account of the aspirations and influence of the merchants of Montreal.

The commercial empire of the book's title was the empire of a dream. The dream was the product of Canadian geography—of that tremendous waterway, the system of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, which, leading from Quebec and Montreal into the heart of the continent, inevit-

ably inspired those cities with visions of western domination. As it had beckoned to French imperialists and traders, so it attracted the hard-headed English-speaking merchants who first entered the colony as camp-followers of the armies of the British conquest. Arguing that the St. Lawrence was the natural highway by which English manufactures should be carried into North America and the produce of the West carried out to England, they fought to realize the great conception of a commercial state in the Great Lakes basin which would be tributary to Montreal. In the beginning the fur-trade dominates the scene, and the extended boundaries conceded to Canada by the Quebec Act seem to lend substance to the dream; but the new frontier accepted in 1783 shatters the hope of British political domination of the whole region, and the advance of settlement leads gradually to the eclipse of fur by new staples—notably timber and wheat. Nevertheless the St. Lawrence, as the merchants saw it, was still to be the outlet for the new territories, American and Canadian alike. With this goal before them, they used their influence at Quebec and London to maintain free trade in the Great Lakes area (thus encouraging the Americans to ship through Montreal), while at the same time they strove to maintain on the Atlantic the old mercantilist regulations which gave produce from Canadian ports advantages in the English market.

The dream was shattered: partly by the natural difficulties of the St. Lawrence route, partly by the advantages and resourcefulness of the American competitors, partly by the obstinate resistance of the agricultural, anti-commercial French majority in Canada to the merchants' proposals, partly by the Imperial Parliament's abandonment of mercantilism. Mr. Creighton's story comes to a dramatic close with the Annexation Manifesto and the burning of the parliament buildings in Montreal in 1849. To the merchant class in Canada, as to so many men in England, the Empire without mercantilism seemed meaningless; and believing themselves betrayed alike by the destruction of imperial preference and by the grant of responsible government, which seemed to hand them over to their enemies the French, they turned from their ancient loyalties in bitter disgust.

That the book is frankly written "largely from the point of view of the commercial group" is a source both of strength and weakness: strength,

because past historians have done little to explain the aspirations of this group, though they have usually been ready enough to justify its opponents; weakness, because the reader is sometimes allowed to lose sight of the importance of the opposing interests. In the early chapters, especially, he might, if unwary, forget that Mr. Creighton's "northern commercial state" existed primarily in the minds of the mercantile minority, and that Canada was in general hardly a commercial country at all. Nevertheless, it would be unjust to give the impression that the book's scope is narrow, for it is just the reverse. This study goes a long way towards providing a complete economic interpretation of its period.

There is more in the book, however, than freshness of approach and excellence of scholarship. It is exceptionally well-organized and admirably and sometimes brilliantly written. Mr. Creighton has an eye for the colour, one might almost say the poetry, of his imperial theme. He impresses upon the reader's mind the tremendous background against which his drama is played: the solemn majesty of the northland; the lakes and the forests; above all, the magic of the great river—"the river which cared not whether it was valued or neglected, the river which would outlast all the ships that sailed upon it and survive all the schemes which it could possibly inspire." This sort of thing is uncommon among historians of any type to-day; in an economic historian it is little short of marvellous. One can only hope that this book will have as many readers as it deserves.

—C. P. STACEY.

Our Own Rebellion

THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE PATRIOTS: Edwin C. Guillet; Nelson; pp. 304; \$3.75.

NOTHING that has happened in Ontario in recent years has been more remarkable than the successful conspiracy of silence among the right-thinking classes which has got us through the centenary of the Rebellion of 1837 without a hint of a commemoration or celebration. Mr. Guillet's new book on the Patriots is entirely taken up with the rebels of 1837 and their American sympathisers, and one assumes that it will meet with a cold reception. It ought to be read by everybody. Our modern historians have touched on every side of the 1830's except the rebels themselves whom they have for the most part left severely alone. Now for the first time since the controversial publications of contemporaries and near-contemporaries one has available an account of what actually happened in December, 1837, and in the succeeding months, an account based mainly upon the records left by the rebels and their friends.

Mr. Guillet appears to have read everything that can be found about the tumultuous events in Upper Canada of one

hundred years ago. He has a fifty-page appendix consisting mostly of hitherto unpublished documents, some of which are very illuminating. He has worked through manuscript papers in the Ontario Archives and in local libraries along the American border. And while a great part of his book is concerned with individuals who are now completely forgotten and whose names were not very well known at the time, he has given us a story of events which is exciting and a picture of conditions of the time which is of absorbing interest.

The rebels were mostly men of small property while the loyalists were dominated by "the Lawyers, the Clergy, the Gentry, the Farmers, and the Traders—in fact all who dreaded being plundered and had the most to lose." The official list of 885 who were arrested or who absconded in these months contains some 375 yeomen, 345 labourers, 80 carpenters or other tradesmen, and a sprinkling of gentlemen, innkeepers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, artists, and preachers (one Methodist and one Baptist.) Of these, says Mr. Guillet, "the greater number would appear to be of American birth or descent; and while the leaders emphasised the constitutional aspect, there were many among the rank and file who would have been quick to effect a social revolution." His account of the adventures of many of these men when they were fleeing from arrest or escaping from prison, with the many episodes of help given by friendly farmers and villagers, seems to prove a widespread popular sympathy, though he emphasises that there was no doubt of the essential loyalty of the great mass of the Upper Canadian community.

People who wonder what fascism will be like in Canada would do well to read the story of the sufferings which many of the rebels endured at the hands of loyalist militia or gaolers. In addition to a full account of uprisings and invasions in Upper Canada Mr. Guillet has followed out the fortunes of the Patriots who were sentenced to transportation to Australia. His narrative is a terrible one. There is much more cruelty and brutality in our Canadian history than we like to think of.

Incidentally Mr. Guillet provides the basis for a lively modern controversy. He sums up against Dr. Rolph after studying all the evidence he could find concerning the relations of Rolph with Mackenzie, Lount and other rebels.

—FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

Michael Collins

THE BIG FELLOW: Frank O'Connor; Nelson; pp. 298; \$3.00.

THIS is a new and eloquent biography of the most vivid personality among the dead Irish revolutionaries, Michael Collins. Though not written with the same clarity and poise which distinguished its author's fine book of short stories, "Guests of the Nation," it carries the reader along by a strange alternation of zest and pathos as well as by the intimate firsthand material which O'Connor has set down.

The Collins who emerges from this frankly heroizing life is a curious political playboy of the Western World. Full-blooded and fiery-tempered, physically pugnacious, intellectually tender, a lover of books, a practical joker with little sense of humor, an Irish Tyll Eulenspiegel in his personal life, he nevertheless has come to be regarded by many Irishmen today—including the author—as the one authentic genius of the Irish struggle. Because of his athleticism and his bullying, swearing egotism the intellectuals in the move-

ment had dubbed him scornfully "the Big Fellow." But in the six years between the Easter Rebellion and his death he turned the nickname into a title "of awe and affection." For beneath his child-like swagger and emotionalism was not only the heart of a passionate patriot but also the mind of an incredibly daring and yet business-like organizer.

It was he who was chiefly responsible for the organization of the Irish Republican Army which fought the British terror of 1920 with terror, espionage with espionage. The British overran the island with secret spies; Collins, by never-ceasing energy and financial skill, organized a counter-agency which placed and preserved three agents in the heart of the British secret service itself! By such means, and with the help of devoted followers who formed the famous "Squad" as a counter-brigade to the Black and Tans, he delivered prisoners from jail almost at will—twenty in one night from Mountjoy Prison. At one time he had men waiting in Downing Street for orders to assassinate the Cabinet or kidnap French if the Government would not come to terms. And they could have done it. The book is worth reading if only for its deflation of the myth that the British Secret Service is omniscient. It furnishes also another of many testimonies to the butchery and sadism which has characterized the rule of our great Imperial Democracy in Ireland.

The British, however, never got Collins. It is the tragedy of his bitter hunted life that he should die in ambush at the hands of erstwhile comrades in his own county of Cork, as a traitor to the cause he had served. When the British were forced to compromise and offer Ireland the half-freedom of Dominion status, Collins unwillingly took the lead in forcing his countrymen to accept. He saw in parliamentary and fiscal separation—in the Free State—a necessary stepping-stone to full freedom. He dreamed of repatriating Irish-American engineers and architects to destroy the slums and peasant hovels and build a new modern Ireland. But half the Irish rebels saw in this only capitulation to treacherous British diplomacy at the very moment when Ireland seemed strong enough to set itself up as a free Republic outside the hated Empire.

Which choice was the best for Ireland? O'Connor passionately defends Collins, and explains the disappointing Ireland of today mainly by the loss of this one realistic genius whose death "left normality enthroned." But his book leads one to suspect that Collins was the greatest romantic of them all, responsible, so far as one man could be, for a political movement which was yet almost completely devoid of political understanding. Collins and his followers relied exclusively on carbonari methods, on guerilla warfare and counter-espionage. Drive the British out and the millennium would create itself almost automatically.

There was no realization that a national Irish capitalism would not and could not remove the slums or raise the living standards of the farmers. It may be that Collins was right in seeing that dominion-status offered a necessary breathing-space, but there is no indication he could have led Irishmen towards the destruction of economic exploitation within their own land. The author contemptuously contrasts Lenin with Collins: "Beside him, Lenin, with his theories . . . seems a child." The effect of O'Connor's book, however, is to make one think the exact opposite and to wish that someone had arisen in the Irish leadership with Lenin's combination of the organizational genius which Collins had and the political vision which he lacked.

—EARLE BIRNEY.

Popular Fiction

ACTION AT AQUILA: Hervey Allen; Oxford Press (Farrar Rinehart); pp. 369; \$2.50.

THIS PROUD HEART: Pearl Buck; Reynal & Hitchcock-Blue Ribbon; pp. 371; \$2.50.

THERE is every reason to suppose that "Action At Aquila" was to be a northerner's reply to "Gone With the Wind," especially since Hervey Allen and Margaret Mitchell are the foremost contenders for the literary marathon laurels. And Mr. Allen's latest novel begins promisingly enough (or ominously enough) with two lists, one of characters of the story, the other of characters, minor or referred to. But "Action At Aquila" turns out to be of conventional length and the characters are easily identifiable without the use of the reference lists. One may presume that the thought of competing with Miss Mitchell suddenly exhausted the author or that he, with justification, realized his simple theme was not worthy of expansion. Reduced to its skeleton, "Action At Aquila" is the story of a Colonel Franklin, a northern officer who burns down the house and destroys the property of a southern woman; of his subsequent attempt to find her and repair some of the damage he has unwillingly caused; of a military engagement, the preparation and fighting of which parallels the main action. Colonel Franklin, of course, marries his quarry. Without being trite, such a plot is by no means fresh or stimulating, nor is the treatment distinguished. Two passages, one describing a small mountain town in the hands of an irresponsible band of guerillas and the other the battle at Aquila, are excellent and make one wish Mr. Allen had extended the same care and descriptive ability to the remainder of his novel. "Action At Aquila" may be a good adventure story but it is mediocre literature.

"This Proud Heart" is a very irritating book. The source of irritation is the heroine, Susan Gaylord, who, even to her dramatic and euphonious name, is too utterly good to be true. It seems unfair, however, to transfer this irritation to the author because, with allowances for literary exaggeration, such a character is by no means a stranger to most of us. There are few of us who do not know, or know of, some person whose talents are exceptional, who meets with success no matter what she or he attempts, whose manners and morals seem above reproach. But of course we are always suspicious of such a paragon and await with rather disgraceful expectancy the discovery of some clay below the ankle bone. We are always sure it is there. And throughout Pearl Buck's newest book, despite the author's sympathy with her heroine, we await some revelation of weakness, some denouement which will rob Susan of her superiority. It never arrives, just the way our ghoulish anticipations in real life are seldom realized. Fiction shouldn't be so much like life. Rebecca West in "The Salt of the Earth," which deals with an almost identical character, did a much more satisfactory job. If I remember correctly that woman's husband poisoned her in the end.

—ELEANOR GODFREY.

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P.G.

SUMMER MOONSHINE: P. G. Wodehouse; McClelland and Stewart; pp. 312; \$2.25.

MR. WODEHOUSE once prefaced a new book with the remark that, to confound the critics who had complained that he was always introducing his old characters under new names, he had now introduced them under their old names, and that he hoped everybody would be satisfied. No doubt everybody was. You might as well complain that Walt Disney has used Mickey Mouse or Donald Duck, yes and the Dwarfs, before. And, by the way, P.G. is almost entirely free of that streak of cruelty which pervades much of Disney's work, as it did that of W. S. Gilbert. True, there is Aunt Agatha, and now the Princess von und zu Dwornitzchek, but their names betray them; the harm they do is soon undone, and every boy gets his girl in the end.

Artificial? Of course it is, and thoroughly escapist. But those who, like a friend of mine, have "no time to be amused" are likely to end their days in a lunatic asylum. So let us thank heaven for a good laugh and P. G. Wodehouse. The secret of his success seems to lie partly in his capacity to invent, and to handle deftly, the most improbably funny situations, partly in his gift for the strikingly humorous phrase and the unexpected and incongruous analogy, partly also in his queer mixture of English and American slang. He caricatures the English and the American to one another, and we can laugh at both without misgiving.

P.G.'s writings are always amusing. He never lets you down, and a few of his books are masterpieces. "Summer Moonshine" is not that, but it is distinctly good. Sir Buckstone Abbott's country house, most appallingly restored by his predecessor, where paying guests are received, provides the story's headquarters. He has a daughter, a "refaned" secretary, and an American but placid wife. Young men are provided, also American except for the Princess' gigolo; while the other guests, sketched in a few bold strokes, give the background. Mr. Bulpitt, the champion process-server of America, introduces a clever new note. The rest is Wodehouse. For those who enjoy him no more need be said; they will not be disappointed. To those who do not enjoy him nothing can be said. Their case is hopeless.

—G. M. A. GRUBE.

Allegory

JOURNEY TO THE BORDER: Edward Upward; Longman (Hogarth); pp. 256; \$2.00.

EDWARD UPWARD is a young English prose writer who deserves to be more widely known. For several years he has been contributing, to the struggling periodicals of the British Literary Left, short stories which are probably the only good prose political allegories produced in England since Samuel Butler. "Journey to the Border" is his first attempt at the same thing on the scale of a novel. On the surface, it is simply an account of the strange mental experiences of a timid young tutor during a single day in which he accompanies his landowner-employer to a race-track. Underneath is a clear and yet intricate Kafka-like parable of the moral conflict which involves the middle-class "intellectual" everywhere today. (In Canada, one speaks of "everywhere" with a fine blindness, of course, to the growing roster of countries—including Russia—where intellectuals are no longer allowed to have mental conflicts.)

The tutor's problem is that, though he is aware of the fatuity of his employer and the employing-class generally, and the fatuity of his own job as intellectual nursemaid to

the employer's barbarian offspring, he does nothing actively about it. Outwardly submitting to their contemptuous bullying, he has been indulging in wistful or morbid daydreams of revolt. But at the racetrack this day his fantasies become hallucinations, which sweep him up into an intense vision, in terms of the racetrack, of his whole world. By seeing into the madness of this capitalist era he barely escapes madness himself, because he must see himself, and his own inactivity, as part of that madness. He journeys to the very border of insanity and then, in a passage of genuine psychological horror, fights his way back. He emerges a new man, knowing that "knowing" is not enough; it is necessary to act, however humbly and obscurely—to fight against capitalism and for socialism. He has returned from the borders of his subjective world to cross over the class border to the side of the workers.

As allegory the book is beautiful and sure and almost religiously moving. As politics it is fatally inconclusive. The chief problem of the socialist intellectual today is not to find the will to become active but to find what kind of action is effective. Like his poetic associates, Spender-Auden-Lewis, Upward can conduct his readers only to a border which many have already crossed. Such writers repeatedly trumpet for a "fight against war and fascism." But how? By joining the Second International, the Third, or the Fourth? By labor parties or leagues for democracy or workers' militias? These are separate roads; the individual cannot march down them all at once. And what the intellectuals to whom Upward writes need more than the will to act is the political understanding to choose. The "Pilgrim's Progress" for socialists is still unwritten; Mr. Upward's striking novel makes us hope that he may come to write it.

—EARLE BIRNEY.

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Hardening Opinion

GREAT ARGUMENT: Philip Gibbs; Ryerson Press; pp. 288; \$2.00.

IN this novel, Philip Gibbs continues the task to which of late years he seems to have set himself with modest determination, the depiction of *The Englishman in Search of His Soul*—so far, an unsuccessful search. Like the other novels that may be brought under this heading, this book has only so much of purely novelistic characteristics as will serve to carry a story somewhat uneventfully along, but like them it is a sincere and distinguished reporting of representative states of mind.

In these days, Philip Gibbs seems a curious and valuable survival of an attitude that can never have been really common, but was once widely rendered the homage of imitation, the attempt to approach problems as fairly and honestly as possible, with a balanced and even mind, the impartiality that in times like these is hailed from both sides of the fence as treason and hypocrisy. The central figures of the book are a Labour intellectual, editor and member of Parliament, his tom-boy daughter, his son, a Cambridge Red, and the son of a wealthy neighbor, a boy of generous enthusiasms but little depth of reflection, easily influenced by the environment of the moment.

There is a deep strain of tragic disillusionment running through the book, as one sees the people of England gradually abandoning the balanced and sensitive humanitarianism of Edward Jesson and glaring restlessly at one another from opposite camps, under the shadow of the dictators whose hand reaches out to strike down in Paris an Italian refugee who had for a while found sanctuary with the Jesson family. The gradual hardening of opinion finds expression first in Jesson's loss of his seat to a Conservative, then in his loss of his job to a more extreme Leftist. With this book, it seems, disappears the last remnant of the England that Philip Gibbs and men like him knew, admired, and trusted.

—L. A. MACKAY.

Where Are the Lions?

LIONS AND SHADOWS: Christopher Isherwood; Longmans, Green (Hogarth); pp. 312; \$2.50.

THIS is not a North American kind of book; it is too English; not, however, because of its opinions, which are neither insular nor imperial, but in a quite private and personal sort of way. The author passed from an English public school to Cambridge University in the early twenties, and from university to a desultory existence, sometimes at home, sometimes in London lodging houses, and for a time as private secretary in the bosom of an amusing family of musical Belgians. While still an undergraduate, he began his first and never-to-be-finished novel. "All the time, by fits and starts, I had been writing away at a novel—'THE novel,' I might almost call it; for it was much less a work of art than a symptom—of a certain stage of public development in a member of a certain class, living in a certain country, and subjected to a certain system of education." The title for this work was to be "Lions and Shadows," which he took, so he tells us, from a phrase in a book he had read—"arrant lovers of living, mighty hunters of lions and shadows." On this he comments: "it was simply an emotional romantic phrase which pleased me, without my consciously knowing why." However, he has shown some affection for this fanciful title, and retained it for this substitute book,

which abandons novel for autobiography and describes his mental career directly in the first person.

He and his close friend Chalmers, himself a poet and writer, spent two years together at Cambridge, and during that time allowed their imaginations to construct a complete world of fantasy in which they spent many of their waking hours. Strolling through college courts and narrow streets wrapped in the cosy foggy twilight of Cambridge evenings, they might at any moment find themselves passing through into "the other town." This, however, was not a mystic or metaphysical conception nor even in any strict sense a romantic conception, but a trick of literary minds, a construction built out of suggestive word or phrase. Thus even the commonplace notice, "Garret Hostel Bridge," seen and interpreted under a gas lamp, could be twisted into the conception of "the Rats' Hostel," and this in turn used to symbolise "the other town," for which they later invented the name "Mortmere." Those like myself who can remember the prosaic iron structure painted green which formed the real Garret Hostel Bridge can only envy imaginations which could extract these suggestions from such unpromising material. To this dream world of fantasy the waking world of Cambridge was a mortal enemy; even the waiter serving in hall, and the don blue-pencilling an essay, and above all "the poshocrats," that select clique of undergraduates from the best schools who set the social fashion of the college, though the author confesses that to their standards and values he continually made willing surrender,

This confession indirectly betrays, I think, the secret of why this book just fails to be exciting. His excursions and extravagances are never so heroic as to exceed the polite limits set by a private income. He can get drunk, but without significance, and depressed, but again without significance, and insult his examiners by handing in a set of burlesque answers, and again it is without significance. If only he had gone gloriously bankrupt—I mean financially—one feels that something interesting might have happened to him. As it is, there is always a complaisant family bringing up the rear, ready to foot the bills and set up the young hero in his next venture, whether that be a course in medicine (abandoned) or a bohemian career in furnished rooms (abandoned) or the quest of greener pastures in Berlin, on which he is proceeding (ticket paid for) as the book ends.

—E. A. HAVELOCK.

Edwardian Leaders

GREAT CONTEMPORARIES: Winston S. Churchill; Nelson (Butterworth); pp. 335, illustrated; \$4.50.

IT TAKES something of a conscious effort to realize that Winston Churchill belongs to the dwindling band of that late Victorian generation which has now almost disappeared. His ebullience, his unpredictability, his continual public display of an unbounded energy which seems always to be sweeping toward a definite and determined goal that somehow never quite materializes—such qualities make it difficult to envisage him as approaching the sere and yellow leaf. Even Lloyd George, who shares more than one of these qualities, is easier to picture as a figure of the past—chiefly because he has behind him a definite period of fulfilment such as Churchill never wholly achieved.

But here is Churchill talking from personal knowledge about such figures as Rosebery and Joseph Chamberlain, Morley and Curzon and Balfour—men of a generation older than his own, but none the less his associates or adversaries,

or both in turn, during the peak period of his political career. He deals with them in a spirit of personal reminiscence, and the character sketches in the present volume are in many respects footnotes to his own autobiography rather than full-dress sketches of historical personages.

The volume itself has an unevenness that is highly characteristic of the author. Much of the material is pure pot-boiling with little merit about it; much of the writing is tawdry and unconvincing in its forced rhetoric. But nothing of Churchill's is ever completely uninteresting, and there are bits of information and flashes of judgment which, if they do not wholly justify the volume, at least save it from being entirely negligible.

His best sketches are those of his more intimate political associates. The essays on both Morley and Asquith, even if one does not wholly accept their impressions, are interesting and vivid; the study of Balfour has some interesting light on Chamberlain's resignation in 1903; and the sketch of Curzon is balanced and penetrating. The chapter on Snowden shows both the best and the worst sides of Churchill. It is good when he keeps his balance, but as soon as the word "socialism" flickers across his mind he goes off the deep end. The same phenomenon marks the discussions of Shaw and Savinkov, and reaches its climax in the unbalanced invective of the pages on Trotsky. At the other extreme is his adulation of Alfonso XIII and his unstinted admiration for Birkenhead—both highly self-revelatory. The book is far from deserving a place on the same shelves as Churchill's more substantial works, and most of the studies could well have been allowed to lie quietly in the periodicals from which they were garnered; but there are five or six which are worth the reading, both for their charm of style and for the light they cast on a few outstanding figures of the Edwardian era.

—EDGAR McINNIS.

This and That

AN EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS: John Cournos and C. E. Silcox; The Ryerson Press, Toronto; pp. 32; 20c.

THE CANADIAN DESERT: Duncan Stewart; Ryerson; pp. 88; paper 75c, cloth \$1.00.

THE Association for Adult Education is to be congratulated on this new series of Dominion Books, of which these are the first two numbers. The series is meant to deal with economic and social problems as they affect Canada, and they are provided with bibliographies of suggested readings on these subjects, which ought to make them invaluable to study groups across the country.

An Epistle to The Hebrews is rather slight; it contains a message to the Jews from one of themselves to accept Christ as the last and greatest of their prophets, not in a theological sense but in the sense of a Christian way of life. The advice seems to bother Dr. Silcox, who writes the Gentile reply: his main thesis is that the difficulties of the Jew are economic, not religious in principle.

The Canadian Desert is a much fuller, and a valuable study of the growing deserts of the West, which the author attributes to careless and faulty methods of cultivation. It is an excellent introduction to the subject; gives all the essential data, and should be familiar to all who are sorely troubled by this vast and terrible problem. Schemes of irrigation are discussed, and Canadians who live in the East cannot do better than read this interesting study. The future of the West is so completely bound up with the future of Canada as a whole.

THE WORLD SINCE THE WAR: Stephen King-Hall; Nelson; pp. 111; 75c.

THIS is a brief review of international affairs from 1914-1937. As such it is a useful handbook, with a convenient chronological table. It is written from the point of view of an intelligent supporter of the National Government, towards which the author is remarkably tender. He thinks that the government has honestly tried, indeed is still trying "to convert non-intervention from a farce into a reality." Commander King-Hall makes a gallant attempt at impartiality, but hostility to the U.S.S.R. pierces through, and he seems to ignore the fundamental economic struggle. If the reader makes allowance for this, he will find the tale of actual events straightforward and in proportion. The author's belief that the salvation of Western civilisation must come through cooperation and democracy is sound, but it needs to be translated in terms of policy.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not preclude review in later issue)

HELL ON ICE: Commander Edward Ellsburg; Dodd Mead; pp. 421; \$2.75.

THE STORY OF ALASKA: Clarence L. Andrews; Copp, Clark (Caxton); pp. 303; \$4.00.

MY INVINCIBLE AUNT: Dorothea Brande; Oxford Press (Farrar Rinehart) pp. 370; \$2.50.

BOUNDARY AGAINST NIGHT: Edmund Gilligan; Oxford Press (Farrar Rinehart); pp. 466; \$2.75.

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WHAT NEXT?: Laurence Housman; Nelson (Cape); pp. 336; \$2.50.

THE BROTHERS: H. G. Wells; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 156; \$1.75.

WORLD BRAIN: H. G. Wells; Doubleday Doran; pp. 194; \$2.25.

MOON IN THE MAKING: Storm Jameson; Macmillan; pp. 390; \$2.75.

TURN BACK THE RIVER: W. G. Hardy; Macmillan; pp. 385; \$2.75.

STRANGERS: Claude Houghton; Macmillan; pp. 559; \$2.75.

THOSE WERE THE DAYS: Osbert Sitwell; Macmillan; pp. 544; \$2.75.

UNDER CAPRICORN: Helen Simpson; Macmillan (Heinemann); pp. 305; \$2.00.

SONNETS FROM NEW DIRECTIONS: Merrill Moore; New Directions, Norfolk, Conn.; 75c.

CHARACTERS IN CADENCE: Louise Morey Bowman; pp. 90; \$2.00.

SONNETS FROM THE FUGITIVE: Merrill Moore; Cauduceus, Boston.

THE MORTAL STORM: Phyllis Bottome; McClelland Stewart (Little Brown); pp. 358; \$2.50.

FROM STORES OF MEMORY: Irving Bacheller; Oxford Press (Farrar Rinehart); pp. 306; \$2.75.

REMINISCENCES: Rev. Clarence MacKinnon; Ryerson; pp. 236; \$1.50.

ACROSS THE FRONTIERS: Philip Gibbs; Ryerson; pp. 336; \$2.50.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?: John Strachey; Ryerson (Gollancz); pp. 398; \$3.00.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN: J. Henry Richardson; I.L.O. Geneva; P. S. King, London; pp. 290.

ROGET'S INTERNATIONAL THESAURUS: C. O. Silvester Mawson; Oxford Press (Crowell, N.Y.); pp. 857; \$3.00.

BERNARD DE VOTO: Garrett Madingley; McClelland Stewart; pp. 60; \$1.25.

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT: Royal Empire Society; Longmans Green; pp. 201; \$1.80 (75c paper).

FINAL REPORT OF NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION: King's Printer, Ottawa; pp. 110; 25c.

A DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY: Wendell Thomas; Correlated Enterprises, N.Y.; pp. 150; \$1.50.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS: Chatham House, London; pp. 48; 1/.

HOMER WATSON: Muriel Miller; Ryerson; pp. 164; \$2.50.

DEMOCRACY AT WORK: D'Arcy Marsh; Macmillan; pp. 100; 75c.

THE GERMAN OCTOPUS: Henry C. Wolfe; Doubleday Doran; pp. 316; \$2.75.

THE BANNOCK INDIAN WAR: G. F. Brimlow; Copp, Clark (Caxton); pp. 241; \$2.50.

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